

The Scottish Colonization of Georgia in America  
1732-1742

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I do hereby declare that this thesis is my own composition and my own work.

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It is not really possible for me to enumerate all the people who have contributed to my thesis and my well being during the many months this work has involved. Their name is legion, and I am grateful to each of them. Nonetheless, I must express appreciation to the Saint Andrew's Society of Savannah, Georgia, U.S.A., for the cash grant which helped to make this thesis possible, and to my mother, Carribel Ferguson Bailes of Albany, Georgia, U.S.A. who helped in countless ways.

## Summary

The colony of Georgia in America was chartered by George II in 1732 for humane, commercial, and military reasons. It would provide a 'hospice for the debtors crowding English gaols, though few would ever emigrate. It would provide raw materials for British manufactories and would be yet another market for British goods. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, it would provide a buffer between the Spanish at Saint Augustine and the British at the already established colony of South Carolina. The Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America, who were granted the charter, encouraged people from many places to come, oftentimes providing funds for them. Thus it was that Europeans of many sorts came, and very early in Georgia's life, a visitor might find Italians, Germans, Austrians, Portugese Jews, and French Huguenots as well as all manner of Britons.

From north of the Borders, in the first decade of the colony's existence, there came four identifiable groups of Scots plus others who came on their own. The first such group came in 1734; they were, in a manner of speaking, merchant adventurers out of Glasgow and Edinburgh. These emigrants were men of means well able to take indentured servants on a ship which they freighted themselves. These gentlemen found the hard life on the colonial frontier where slaves were forbidden by law was not to their liking, and they complained orally and in writing. They formed the nucleus of a group which came to be called the "Malcontents." Ultimately, most of them left the colony.

The second group of Scottish emigrants to Georgia came out of the Highlands for the most part sailing from Inverness on the

Prince of Wales as 1735 neared its end. A Scot, Hugh Mackay, had been sent by James Oglethorpe, M.P. for Haslemere, Surrey, and the only Trustee ever to go to Georgia, to go into the Highlands and recruit settlers for a frontier outpost that he planned on the Altamaha River. There would be the last settlement against the Spanish border. They called this place New Inverness in the district of Darien. Here, they cleared away the underbrush from the flat, often swampy terrain and built homes and a fort. This place, which came to be called Darien, became a centre for Highlanders in Georgia, and it was to this place that most of the two subsequent Scottish groups--one in 1737 and one in 1741--went.

Oglethorpe thought highly of the Darien colony as fighters and frontiersmen, and after the first Highlanders came, he always had some in his party. Several went along when he visited the Lower Creek Nation in 1739. Others made up the garrisons at the outlying fortifications away from the colonial centres. In 1740, he took a Highland company with him to attack the Spanish at Saint Augustine. These Highlanders would not cooperate with the Carolina forces preferring to stay to themselves; for their provinciality, they gave their freedom and in some instances their lives. He again turned to the Scots, when, in July 1742, the Spanish invaded Saint Simons Island off the Georgia mainland. In a brief encounter a detachment of British forces dominated by Scots opened fire on Spanish soldiers and Indians as they crossed a marsh near the island's edge. In this brief skirmish--as such encounters go it was neither long nor costly in lives--the Spaniards were dealt a blow from which they did not recover. From that day in

July until the Spanish yielded possession of Florida to the British in 1763, the Spanish were never able to mount another attack, and when Oglethorpe went to attack them at Saint Augustine the next year, they would not come out and fight. Thus it was that this Scottish-led battle spelt the end of Spanish aggressions against the British in that part of the world. The Scots could now turn their swords into plowshares and settle down to build a steady life for themselves, and this they did.

The Scots in Georgia were not only fighters and frontiersmen, they filled all those roles that are required in a new society. Thus, this thesis studies the total life of the Scots in Georgia and an appendix of more than 400 Scots who were resident in Georgia during the decade of the Spanish threat is included. This study of the Scots is made against the background of the Spanish claim to Georgia with attention being paid to Cardross' settlement at Stuart's Town colony and Alexander Cumming's journey into the Cherokee nation.

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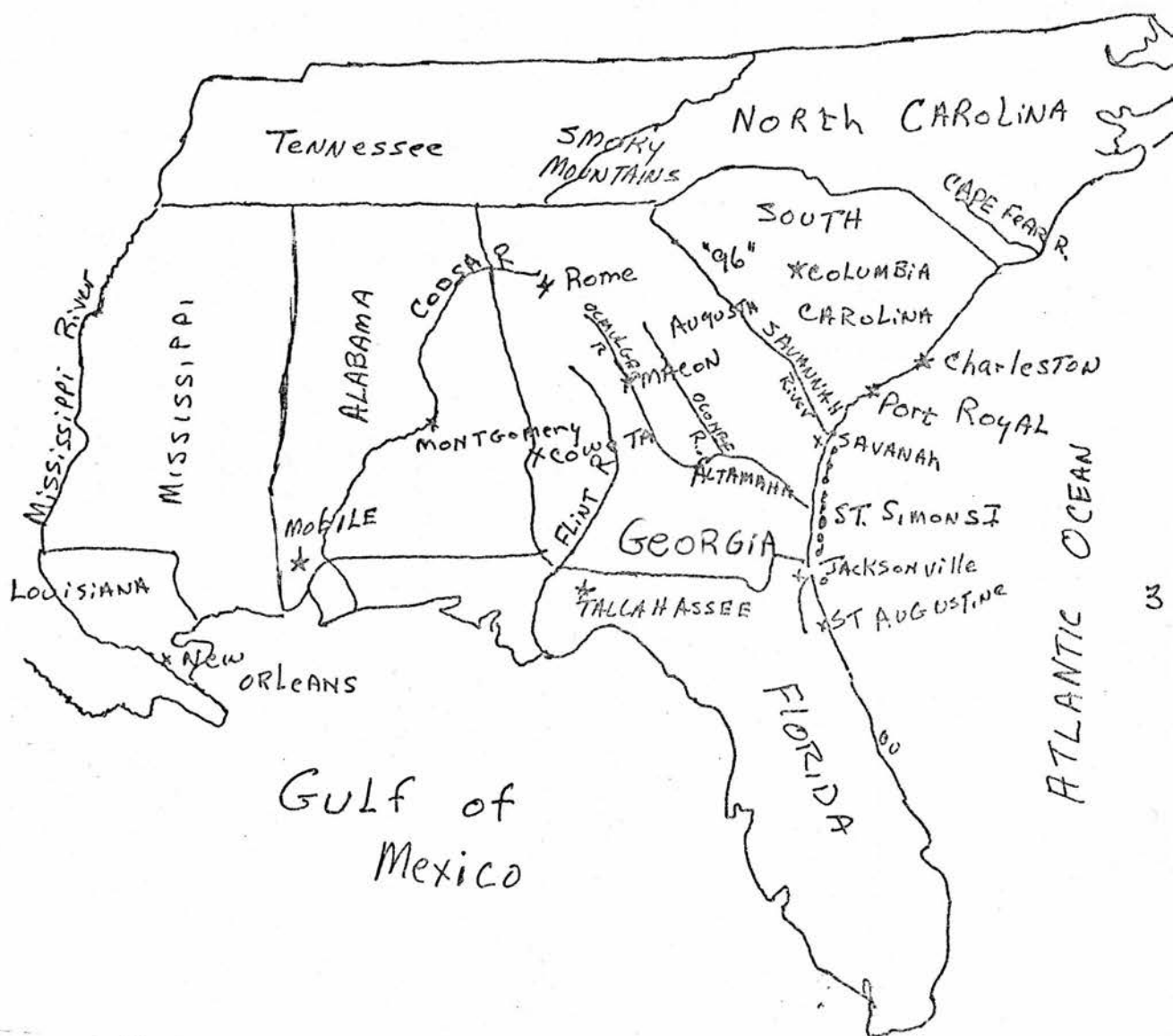
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## Chapter I

That segment of land known today as Georgia in the United States of America became a separate entity within the English-speaking world in 1732 when King George II granted a charter giving the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America control of the brand new colony for the next twenty years. In his generosity, George was giving away lands which had been occupied by Indians since time immemorial and claimed by Spain for well over a century. There were two principal tribes of Indians to be reckoned with: the Cherokees, linguistically related to the tribes of the Illinois confederacy, occupied the northern part of the state, the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains; the others, the Creek confederacy an alliance of a number of bands, were kin to the Muskhogean nation through language, and lived generally, in the central and southern plains regions of the state.<sup>1</sup> While the Cherokees had, through their representatives, proclaimed their loyalty to the British crown in 1730,<sup>2</sup> their southern counterparts were loyal only to themselves. The bands of the Creek nation oftentimes functioned independently of the other tribes and made a number of alliances with other Indians and the Spanish who were the only whites to remain in the area for any length of time. In fact, the Spanish were the first whites, and therefore, the first Europeans to come to Georgia.

In March 1540, a party of more than 500 Spanish soldiers, craftsmen, priests, slaves, and Indians led by Hernando de Soto crossed into Georgia at its present southwestern corner. They had arrived the preceding October in the vicinity of present-day Tallahassee, Florida, only a few miles north of the shoreline



of the Gulf of Mexico. When March came with its fragrant flowers and warm spring breezes, the Spanish were roused out of their winter lethargy to move northward looking for gold for their King and souls for the Holy Roman Church. The conquistadores moved in a northeasterly direction on March 3 to the trading path of the Lower Creek Nation which crossed the state's middle. Tradition says the party left a lasting reminder of their visit to the southwestern corner of the state in the form of a well near the present day village of DeSoto.<sup>3</sup> Once the party reached the trading path, the motorway of its day, they followed it to Cofitachequi, an Indian settlement near modern Columbia, South Carolina.<sup>4</sup> Cofitachequi was presided over by a queen or cacica, who, expecting "the Christians,"<sup>5</sup> met them with gifts. De Soto was presented with "much clothing of the country"<sup>6</sup> and a large string of pearls from the queen's own neck. "The Cacica observing that the Christians valued the pearls told the governour that if he should order some sepulchres that were in the town to be searched, he would find many."<sup>7</sup> The Spaniards, like Edinburgh's "Resurrectionists," found grave robbing profitable, for "they examined those in the town and found three hundred and fifty pounds weight of pearls and figures of babies and birds made of them,"<sup>8</sup> De Soto's party, which included "men out of low degree among the many"<sup>9</sup> abused the generosity shown by the Indians who were "more civilized than any people seen in all the territories of Florida, wearing clothes and shoes"<sup>10</sup> by committing outrages upon the inhabitants. Perhaps the final action of the Spaniards in Cofitachequi was the greatest outrage of all: De Soto himself ordered the Cacica and her slaves to be seized as prisoners and forcibly took them 100 leagues "through her territories."<sup>11</sup> The Spaniards and their hostages moved north

and west through western North Carolina, across the Great Smoky Mountains before heading south into the gold-laden hills of the Cherokees in northwestern Georgia. They left this rich land in early summer to follow the course of the Coosa River into southern Alabama where they hoped to find the wealth which they had been told existed in the territory of the Coosa Indians; they left unaware that the riches they sought were literally under their feet. Although the priests baptized many Indians, they made no lasting influence on them. In fact, it is highly doubtful if DeSoto's party had any influence worth mentioning on the first Georgians; however, the importance of the visit lies in the fact that the Spanish during the expansionist reign of Carlos I were the first Europeans in Georgia and would figure in its life for more than two hundred years to come.<sup>12</sup>

Twenty-six years after DeSoto left the Cherokee nation, the Spanish planted the first European colony in Georgia on Saint Catherine's Island, some thirty miles south of the Savannah River, the future northeastern boundary of the state. The colonists were a detachment of soldiers with the ever-present priests from the new Spanish fort at Saint Augustine in Florida which had been established in the preceding year.<sup>13</sup> Philip II had learned of efforts by two groups of French Huguenots to establish colonies along the southern Atlantic coast and dispatched Pedro Menéndez de Aviles to deal with them. He had only one to deal with when he did reach New Spain, for the one at Port Royal, South Carolina, under Jean Ribault had run into so many problems that it had pulled up stakes and gone south to join one under Rene Laudonniere at Fort Caroline on the Saint John's River bluff. Menendez, apparently a man who served his king well, landed with his forces, set-

set up the primitive fort at Saint Augustine, and marched about thirty-five miles north to capture the Huguenot bastion in the first ten days he was in Florida. As an added touch, he proclaimed Philip II monarch of North America.<sup>14</sup>

During the Spanish period, a number of presidios and missions were established in various directions beginning with the two established by Menendez himself and a third set up ~~by~~ an exploring party he had dispatched into the Carolina back country. Captain Juan Pardo and his men spent two weeks building a fort, which they called Santa Elena, at Lameco or Chiaha "no doubt near Rome, Georgia"<sup>15</sup> in the late autumn of 1566. Pardo left a garrison of a corporal and thirty men, supplies and ammunition at the remote outpost to which he promised to return in three or four "moons."<sup>16</sup> The fort in the mountains was not an important one due to its isolation and is relatively unknown in comparison to the two coastal forts Menendez opened earlier the same year. The explorer and his men made what appears to be a reconnaissance visit to the island they called Santa Catalina in April 1566 when they stayed there for several days to call on an aged Indian chief named Guale.<sup>17</sup> The old chieftain's name would shortly become synonymous with the region from Santa Elena Island to the Saint John's River. The Spaniards left Guale's island to go to Santa Elena where Menendez had visited the previous year. There, he established Fort San Felipe before sailing back to Santa Catalina.<sup>18</sup> During the eight days that he remained on the island, he directed the construction of a blockhouse and left a garrison of a captain and thirty men before going to Saint Augustine.<sup>19</sup> "This post on Saint Catherine's was the first of a chain of Spanish settlements on the Georgia seaboard; its founding in 1566 was the beginning

of more than a century's occupation."<sup>20</sup>

Wherever the Spanish went, they took their Roman Catholic faith; once the Indians were baptized, they needed clergy to tend their souls. The first missionaries to labour in Georgia were the priests and brothers of the Society of Jesus. One Jesuit, Father Domingo Agustin wrote a grammar and a catechism in the language of the Yamassees Indians, but he and his colleagues had a short-lived stay in Guale. The Jesuits fled during an Indian uprising in 1570 and did not return.<sup>21</sup> The Franciscans succeeded their co-religionists with a string of coastal missions from Saint Augustine to a site near Charleston, South Carolina. This location was known to the Greyfriars as "La de Chatuache," which strikes one as an attempt to spell phonetically "Chattahoochee," a well-known Indian name.<sup>22</sup> The Franciscans listed five missions in Georgia in 1659, although it may have been only four depending on which side of the river bank San Pedro de Mocamo was situated. These were San Pedro de Mocamo, at the mouth of the Saint Mary's River; Santa Buenaventura de Gualquini on Jekyll Island; Santo Domingo de Talege near Darien; Saint Joseph de Zapala on Sapelo Island; San Felipe between Darien and Savannah, and Santa Catalina on Saint Catherine's Island, which was the principal place of the area which had come to be called Guale.<sup>23</sup> Although the Spanish built fairly solid communities with churches and schools, their real influence was of such little significance that it is barely mentioned in most history books.

While all this was going on, Madrid was beset by too many problems nearer home to worry about a handful of frontier outposts half a world away. Entering the Thirty Years' War in 1620, on the side of Ferdinand, Philip IV's Spain suffered two severe

blows which did great damage to her national morale and seemed to leave her vulnerable to aggressors. On May 19, 1643, Philip's forces were defeated by the French at the Battle of Rocroi in "the greatest defeat ever suffered by the incomparable Spanish infantry."<sup>24</sup> This loss is "often taken to mark the end of Spain's military power."<sup>25</sup> Nine years later, England captured Jamaica after Philip refused to ally with Cromwell against France. This conquest was the first major break in the "solidarity of actually occupied"<sup>26</sup> Spanish territory; it marked a "turning point in Colonial history as Rocroi had done in Europe."<sup>27</sup> With these problems, Philip failed to give much support to New Spain and neither did the regents of his successor, the epileptic boy king, Charles II "The Bewitched."<sup>28</sup> One of the results was that the missions and presidios in Georgia were allowed to wither and die, for although the Franciscans may have been willing to remain, it would have been nothing short of foolishness to remain without armed protectors. Nonetheless, the land was still claimed for the Madrid crown.

Thus, when Charles II of England granted the Lords Proprietors of Carolina all those lands lying between thirty-one and thirty-six degrees north latitude from the Atlantic to the Pacific in 1663,<sup>29</sup> he appears to have given away lands not only claimed by Charles II of Spain and others before him, but he also appears to have been taking advantage of the vulnerability of Spain. Not content with his initial generosity, the English king in 1665 moved the northern boundary to  $36^{\circ} 30'$  and the southern boundary to the twenty-ninth parallel.<sup>30</sup> This particular gift included the settlement at Saint Augustine itself as well as a handful of lesser bastions. In 1670, representatives of both governments got together and worked out a peace treaty known as the Treaty

of Madrid or the Treaty of America. The pact revoked all letters of marque and reprisal issued by either government and erased into oblivion all previous wrongs done by either government to the other. Most significantly, it gave the British king and his heirs full and clear title to any part of America that he or his subjects "at present hold or possess."<sup>31</sup> The terms further fixed the common boundary between Carolina and Florida "on a line running west from a point in Port Royal Sound near the site of the old Santa Elena.<sup>32</sup> The old Santa Elena was known to the English as Port Royal.<sup>33</sup>

As if to bait the Spanish into a fight, a colony of Englishmen came to settle at the boundary point, Port Royal, in March 1670.<sup>34</sup> However, they were not as brave as they thought they were and soon moved fifty miles up the Ashley River because of the Spanish threat. A decade later, another group of colonists, also English, settled downstream from the other colony, which joined the newcomers in establishing a town named for the King: Charles Towne, modern Charleston. Four years later, a band of self-exiled Scottish Covenanters appeared on the scene.<sup>35</sup>

They were, however, not the first Scots who attempted to colonize the New World. As early as 1622, Scots had sailed from their homeland for Nova Scotia to which Sir William Alexander, later the Earl of Stirling, had been granted a charter in 1621. They had, however, been detained at Saint John's, Newfoundland, by wintry weather. Another group of Scots went to Nova Scotia in 1623, and Alexander, apparently displeased with the numbers, wrote a promotional pamphlet An Encouragement to Colonies in 1625. He also obtained the king's consent to create as a baronet any gentleman who would furnish 1,000 merks or six skilled men to the colony. His efforts, nevertheless, were largely in vain, for as the result of



difficulties with the French in Canada, King Charles ordered the removal of the tiny band of Scotsmen and abandonment of the colony. And so it was that in 1632, the Scots left Nova Scotia to be ruled by the French until 1713.<sup>36</sup> More than a half-century later, Scotsmen again set out for the New World--this time to plant two colonies in the same year. One was a Quaker-Scottish community in East New Jersey, established through the efforts of the Quaker apologist Robert Barclay of Urie, who as its first governour was allowed to reign in absentia. The colony fared better than Nova Scotia and survived to become a part of the crown colony of New Jersey in 1702.<sup>37</sup>

Some seven hundred miles south along the Atlantic coastline, the second Scottish colony to be founded in 1684 was established at Stuart's Town in South Carolina.<sup>38</sup> They were Presbyterians, Covenanters, who had supported the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 under which Scotland entered England's Civil War on the side of Parliament in exchange for Parliament's pledged reformation of religion in its realm "according to the word of God and the example of the best reformed churches;" the inference that the Scottish church was the one meant was clear. The restored Charles II had no intention of upholding the Covenant and discord rang through Scotland for years. In 1681, Scottish ministers and all who held public office were submitted to a "test" which included the repudiation of the Covenants, the adherence to the Confession of Faith of 1560, the acknowledgment of the King's authority over all persons in civil and ecclesiastical affairs and the yielding of any opposition to the government of the church and state.<sup>40</sup> The earliest plans to escape these requirements in 1682 called for 10,000 Scots to emigrate, but the huge numbers were not

forthcoming. Thus it was a small band of 148 Covenanters which sailed from Gourock Bay near Glasgow in July 1684.<sup>41</sup> Leading them was Henry Erskine, third Lord Cardross, who was the colony's governor, and the Reverend William Dunlop, who many years later became principal of Glasgow University.<sup>42</sup> They landed at Charleston on October 2, 1684, their numbers devastated by death and destruction to the point where only fifty-one remained to settle at Stuart's Town.<sup>43</sup> Their arrival was not unexpected. On March 4, 1684, William, Lord Craven, palatine, and others of the Carolina Proprietors wrote Charleston authorities from Whitehall:

There being several Scotch goeing from Glasco to Carolina, you are to permitt them to settle at Port Royall if they desire it and direct their lands to be run out to them according to our agreement with Sir John Cockram and Sir George Campbell...or if they desire to settle among the English you are to direct the setting out of lands to them as wee have by our instructions appoynted for all that come to settle in our province.<sup>44</sup>

In June, Peter Colleton, a proprietor, wrote the Carolina governor, the Honourable Sir Richard Kyrle advising him that "some of the Scots that are going for Carolina"<sup>45</sup> wanted the site they chose for a town to be the "seat of justice for the county at Port Royall."<sup>46</sup> The Lords Proprietors, he wrote, were agreeable "provided that they make a choyce of a place soe farr in from the sea as it may not bee lyable to surprize"<sup>47</sup> and also provided that it had such conveniences "as are requisit."<sup>48</sup> The lands about it were to be laid out in such methods as were approved for other port towns. "I did forget...to tell you that upon the request of the Scotts we did agree to make some alterations in the fundamental constitutions whereby more power was put in the hands of the people."<sup>49</sup>

Cardross built his settlement at Spanish Point near Port



Royal. "The Scottish refugees were, in general, folk of a class superior to the old Barbadians and the English and Irish planters and servants who made up the colony at the Ashley River."<sup>50</sup> Because of this they were promised a separate court for their county and the governing document, the Fundamental Constitutions, drafted by John Locke, was altered to meet their ideas.<sup>51</sup> The Scots were granted one county "remote by the width of one or two counties from the existing settlements"<sup>52</sup> and were given an option to take up a second. The location of the settlement may not have been uppermost in their minds in those early days for they were decimated by illness as Cardross and Dunlop reported the following March.

We found the place so extraordinarie sicklie that sickness quickly seased many of our number and discouraged others, insomuch that they deserted us when we were to come this place and sold off their servants.... Sicklie as we were we must confess the countrie is<sup>53</sup> verie pleasant and desirable and promiseth well enough.

Neither Cardross nor Dunlop report on the situation with their own servants; indeed, Dunlop may not have had any. There is indication, however, that Cardross brought sixteen servants. In a land warrant dated October 6, 1685, he was granted 850 acres "due to him for the Arriveall of himself, William Stevenson, Peter Allen, Alexander M<sup>r</sup>tis, James Martine, Carpenter, and his wife Martha, James Martine Junio<sup>r</sup>, Anna Martine, Deborah Martine, Priscilla Martine, Charles Campble, Mary Huttchison, Martha Martine, spinster, Moses Martine, Mary Martine, Mary Foulton and James Foulton."<sup>54</sup> There is no indication of their country of origin.

The think ranks of the Covenanters may have been a disappointment to the Carolinians, who because of the ever-present Spanish threat, were frequently in danger. Concern for the colony's

safety reached the Proprietors at London where, in commissioning Sir Richard Kyrle governour in April 1684, they stressed the need for adequate defense.

The Spaniards have not always been very good neighbors, and we know not how soon they may attack you. You will therefore consult the council and the parliament, and put the country into the best posture of defence you can in order to hasten the settlement of the militia and set good men in command. You will cause the companies to be frequently trained and agree upon the rendezvous of each company and regiment in case of alarm....We hope that your preparations may make the enemy desist from attempts <sup>55</sup> that are chiefly discouraged by carelessness in defence.

Although the fact that the Scots were to function independently of the Carolina authorities may have been a sore point, there were other considerations. In the first place, contrary to the concerns voiced in London, the Carolinians had come to have little regard for the Spanish threat; secondly, and perhaps more importantly, the English did not want the threat of Scots' competition for the lucrative Indian trade.<sup>56</sup> The emigrants from North Britain, on the other hand, were hardly good neighbors. They "showed themselves grasping and exclusive"<sup>57</sup> and forbade Charleston traders to pass through their region. Several depositions were taken from Charleston traders on May 5, 1685, when they were examined before the grand council. The best known of the group, the 39-year-old Dr. Henry Woodward, testified that on April 19, 1685, he and four English companions were seized on a nearby river by John Hamilton, Caleb Westbrooke, and eight or nine others. Although Woodward showed his captors his commission from the council to lead a "discovery" mission, Hamilton "valued not" this and took them twenty miles from the river to Stuart's Town "being there brought a prisoner (and) was delivered to Lord Cardross."<sup>58</sup> Cardross would not let them go

free, saying that no Englishman "had any power to come into his precinct for that the Scotch were an independent government from the English."<sup>59</sup> Reuben Willis, "aged forty or thereabouts," gave the same information on May 18, 1685. He identified the remainder of Woodward's companions as John Wilson, George Franklyn, and William Parker. The site, Willis said, was Ameraraio "att or nigh the Westoe River."<sup>60</sup> The Westoe is an earlier name for the Savannah River.<sup>61</sup> In the same period, still another man from Charleston, John Edenburgh, "aged 25 or thereabouts," ran afoul of the Scots according to testimony sworn on May 5, 1685. Edenburgh swore that he was going from Charleston to Port Royal to trade with the Yamassee Indians at the end of March 1685. At Kustedaws Creek, he was seen by Dunlop, an Englishman, and two Indians who were on Cumbee Island. Dunlop fired two or three guns, which prompted Edenburgh to go across to the island to investigate. Dunlop asked Edenburgh to go to Stuart's Town to speak to Cardross, which he did, only to be told that no Englishman should trade from Saint Helena (Port Royal) to the Westoe River or from the Westoe River to Sain Catherine's Island. Cardross told Edenburgh that he had taken up one county and could take up a second if he wanted to do so; he also threatened to arrest Dr. Woodward if he came into his area.<sup>62</sup>

The English authorities did not take kindly to this harassment of Englishmen and issued a warrant May 5, 1685, for the apprehension of "the body of the said Asken alias Lord Cardross, John Hamilton, and Caleb Westbrooke and bring them before this board on the second day of June next."<sup>63</sup> When the council met on the appointed day, it was reported that John Griffith, the provost marshal had produced the warrant for Cardross at Port

Royal on May 14. His Lordship not only refused to obey the warrant but "detained the warrant from said officer."<sup>64</sup> A second warrant was issued for the offending Scotsmen to appear July 17. "Date abt. June 1685," Cardross answered Griffith's warrant by claiming he was "very sick and could not come nor would not for in soe coming hee should hazard his life and further...that if it had not been for his suddain sicknesse he had been (would have been) in Charles Towne before this time."<sup>65</sup> On July 17, William Dunlop wrote from "Stuart Town at Port Royall" on behalf of Cardross that he was surprized to hear that the council had ordered a party to bring Cardross sick or in health to appear before them, for he believed that the King and Privy Council of England would have allowed the ailing peer to recover. Further, on behalf of himself and others, Dunlop asked for magistrates to come because there were a number of "rascally fellows come here to the neighbor island."<sup>66</sup>

Rascally fellows were not the only arrivals on neighboring islands. Prior to 1685, a small band of Indians from Guale under the leadership of Chief Altamaha migrated to the Port Royal Sound region and became Cardross' neighbors.<sup>67</sup> They first settled on Santa Elena Island; later Cardross assigned them to Hilton Head Island, the outermost point on the southern shore of the sound. Here, they served as an outer guard for the Scots at Stuart's Town. The Spanish used the Indians as messengers to the British as Cardross, Hamilton, and Montgomerie reported to Charleston officials on January 10, 1685.

Wee thought fit to acquaint you that yesterday some moe of the nation of the Yamassees arrived at Saint Helena to settle with those of their nation formerly settled there having come from above Saint Augustine. (They) brought the herewith inclosed letters from the governour of Saint Augustine directed as wee suppose

to your Honour...It being much our concern lyeing upon the frontiers to know the Spaniards actings, motions and intentions wee earnestly intreat that your honour do us the favour<sup>68</sup> of letting us know what resolution you take thereupon.

The Scots were not the only ones concerned with their vulnerability to Spanish attack. In a letter from Whitehall in November 1685, Colleton and other Proprietors took note of some unmounted cannon which were useless and ordered five of the cannon to be delivered to Cardross and the newly appointed sheriff of Port Royal County, Alexander Dunlop, for use in Port Royal.<sup>69</sup> The Proprietors remarked "that Stewart's Town at Port Royall is the Frontier of the whole settlement towards the Spaniard and most lyable to hurt by them whenever they shall be disposed to disturb us."<sup>70</sup> The weapons were not unnecessary, for the Scots had provoked, albeit indirectly, the Spanish. Cardross and Westbrooke promoted an attack by Altamaha and his warriors on a Timucuan Indian mission in central Florida. In testimony given May 6, 1685, several Yamassees gave an account of the venture.

About three months agoe the Scotts settled at Port Royal did send Caleb Westbrooke & Aratomahan,<sup>71</sup> a chieftain among them to the Yamassees to encourage them to make warre with the Timecho Indians who are Christians and had a Spanish Fryer and Chappell among them which they agreeing to the Scotts furnished with 23 fyre armes in order to distroye the said Timechos that thereupon they proceeded and burnt several Townes in particular the said chappell and Fryers house and killed fifty of the Timechoes and brought away two and twenty prisoners which they delivered to the Scotts as slaves and that they likewise brought away a manuscript of prayers written in Spanish & Latin which they now delivered to us who took the Examination and the said Caleb Westbrooke and Aratomahan did in their said message acquaint them that the English as well as the Scotts were acquainted with and approved of the said warre.<sup>72</sup>

It was more than a year later when a retaliatory blow was struck. In August 1686, three galleys and an attack force of

both Spanish and Indians led by Captain Alexandro Thomas de Leon on orders of Governour Manuel Cabrero at Saint Augustine<sup>73</sup> "did in a hostile and barbarous manner fall upon His Majesty's subjects who were living peaceably on their plantations on the Ashley and Edisto Rivers."<sup>74</sup> A number of Englishmen and slaves were killed or captured; one of the captives was the governour's own brother-in-law, one Boswell. They struck the Scottish settlement next "where there was not above 25 men in health to oppose them. The Spaniards burnt down their houses, destroyed and carried away all that they had."<sup>75</sup> The Spanish leader, De Leon, died before he reached home.<sup>76</sup>

The Scots and English in a rare show of cooperation set about to mount a counterattack, but the arrival of a new governour, James Colleton, ended this plan in November. Colleton felt that since Spain and England were at peace at least on paper, the English should not strike a blow. The Spanish like the Carolinians did not share Colleton's views and returned in December to wipe out the remnants of Stuart's Town.<sup>77</sup> Since there were so few able, adult males left amongst the Scots, these two forays can hardly be called battles. Again, no pursuit was made, and the remaining Scots were absorbed into the colony's mainstream. Thus, did another venture in Scottish colonization in the New World end. . . Will Dunlop remained a prominent member of the colony for years to come. As early as October 6, 1685, he had sat as a member of the Palatine Court at Charleston;<sup>78</sup> he also continued as a clergyman. In 1688, he undertook a diplomatic role when he went to Saint Augustine seeking to get some satisfaction from the governour for the raids of 1686; he was unsuccessful and went home empty-handed.<sup>79</sup>



For more than a decade, the Spanish-English conflict in the disputed area was quiet, and at home in England, interest in colonizing was something less than feverish. In Scotland during this period, a colonizing venture did capture the imagination not to mention the purses and sporrans of many people. In 1695, the Parliament at Edinburgh granted a charter to the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies, the Darien Company.<sup>80</sup> Thousands on thousands of pounds were subscribed in shares, and a tiny fleet of boats was obtained to transport colonists from the chill winds of North Britain to the intense heat and humidity of the Isthmus of Panama where the colony of Caledonia was located. The new settlement suffered many difficulties including an attack by the Spaniards who resented this latest English attempt to commandeer their territory. Devastated by death and disease and demoralized by the quarreling and dissention within its ranks, the colony--or rather what was left of it--abandoned the Darien settlement and headed home in 1700 aboard seven ships only one of which ever reached the homeland. Two of them were demolished when the perennial autumn hurricanes struck the Charleston area on the night of September 3, 1700. The Duke of Hamilton was lying at anchor in Charleston harbour; nine miles down the river, the Rising Sun, the company's flagship, was lying crippled and in need of repair before being able to undertake the long, trans-Atlantic voyage.<sup>81</sup> Whether or not the Scots would have gotten help on the Rising Sun is doubtful, for on July 24, 1699, Governour Joseph Blake of Charleston wrote one of his superiours that he had received the letter containing "His Majesty's commands that noe person should any wayes assist the Scotch."<sup>82</sup> Blake said he had immediately issued a proclamation forbidding such assistance by "all persons

within my government...under the penalty of confiscation of their ships and goods, & incurring the utmost severity of the lawes."<sup>83</sup>

Nonetheless, Blake's injunction was ultimately an exercise in rhetoric for the two ships were completely destroyed in the storm and more than 100 persons aboard them perished.<sup>84</sup> Sixteen members of the party including James Byres, who was to be condemned by the company's directors for his treachery, were spared because they had gone ashore.<sup>85</sup> There is a curious sidelight to this disaster and the tragedy of Darien. One of the ministers who had gone out to care for the spiritual needs of the emigrants to Panama, the Reverend Archibald Stobo, had been invited ashore to preach by the Congregational Church and took his wife and daughter, Jean, ashore with him. After the hurricane, they remained in Carolina where his daughter married a Scottish emigrant and had a family. In 1903, one of Jean's descendants, President Theodore Roosevelt, signed the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty which led the way to the Panama Canal, bringing to fruition the dream William Patterson had for the Darien Company.<sup>86</sup>

In the early years of the eighteenth century, Scotland was sore and bleeding from the Darien venture, which Prebble terms "perhaps the worst disaster in Scotland's history;" to the south,<sup>87</sup> England had turned openly aggressive with the declaration of war against France and Spain in 1702. Governour James Moore followed Queen Anne's lead and advocated that Carolinians seize Saint Augustine before it could be reinforced with French forces. The Carolina House of Commons authorized the attack in early September and appropriated £2,000 for the venture, which was expected to take two months. As an added incentive, they declared that "all persons that shall go shall have an equal share of all plunder."<sup>88</sup>



This would not be the first encounter between the English and the Spanish in 1702. In May, Carolina traders aided by friendly Creek Indians raided several Spanish Indian towns near Tallahassee and demolished the mission at Santa Fe sixty miles to the west. In the summer, the Spanish sought revenge with an attack on the Creeks and traders on the lower Flint River in southwest Georgia and were badly beaten.<sup>89</sup> Moore, his attack now authorized, planned a major foray and sailed down the coast for Saint Augustine, while sending Colonel Robert Daniel with a detachment over land to attack from the rear. On November 10, Daniel and his men marched into Saint Augustine, while Moore's forces anchored in the Matanzas River and commenced to land the same day. The local inhabitants were safe, however, for they had retreated into the huge stone fortress, the Castillo de San Marcos, the preceding day. Neither Spanish nor British made any appreciable progress in defeating the other despite a number of sallies on either side. The tide was turned when four ships from Havana came in sight on December 25. The ships, which Governour Zuniga first took for English vessels, showed no signs of doing anything, and so an envoy was dispatched to the commanding officer, General Estevan de Berroa, who had just given orders for the ships to sail to Havana.<sup>90</sup> Not having heard from the fort, he assumed it had fallen into English hands. The general now landed a captain and 212 infantrymen just south of Saint Augustine. The soldiers moved toward the city stopping for the night of December 29 three miles southeast of Saint Augustine, and at this time the English began their retreat. Berroa had his ships sail north to Matanzas Inlet to blockade Moore's eight ships. The Carolina governour then landed his men at Vilano Beach and set fires to at least four of his ships, two brigantines

and two sloops, at about 8 P.M., December 29. Next, he marched his force of 500 troops north to the Saint John's River to join the other British troops.<sup>91</sup> The British burned every house they passed as they left town. "By noon of December 30, no Englishman was visible, and the flames had been checked....The siege was over. The fort was still Spanish, but Saint Augustine was in ashes."<sup>92</sup> The British destroyed the homes of 118 persons including the governour; the estimated property loss credited to British hands was 47,140 pesos; the Spanish themselves did an additional 15,000 pesos worth of damage.<sup>93</sup> This encounter was the first test of the practically new Castillo de San Marcos, and the occupants must have felt a sense of security when they learned that enemy guns could not penetrate its walls. The Spanish, who had had nine wooden forts at the same site, began building the huge fort of stone and coquina in the decade that the English first settled in Carolina, and by 1687, it was virtually complete. "Built primarily to hold back an aggressive English foe, and equipped with approximately fifty cannon of various types and weights, the Castillo was of decisive influence almost overturning in itself the odds in favor of Spain's enemies as became evident in 1702 when the first great trial of strength occurred."<sup>94</sup> Although the victory went to the Spanish, Bolton, an eminent authority on Spain in America, wrote that the English actually won in the final analysis because "the Spanish frontier fell back another step"<sup>95</sup> going this time to the Saint Mary's River from the Saint John's.

Moore, before he could undertake a second attack to salvage his humiliating defeat which had cost £26,000 plus the ships and supplies which he had destroyed or left in his hasty retreat, was succeeded as governour by Sir Nathaniel Johnson, an experienced

soldier.<sup>96</sup> Johnson insisted on shoring up Charleston's defenses rather than attacking the Spanish fort, but he ultimately allowed Moore, now Colonel Moore, to move against the enemy. He went westward to the villages of the Creeks along the Ocmulgee where he gathered a thousand warriors to join his fifty white men. The bill for this expedition was borne by Moore who hoped to pay for the fight with plunder and Indians captured for slaves.<sup>97</sup> This horde moved southwest to the Apalachee Bay region, in January 1704, the Indians attacked Ayubale, a Franciscan mission village and stockade eight leagues north of Fort San Luis near Tallahassee; they were turned back twice by Spanish Apalachees under a Franciscan friar, the Reverend Angel de Miranda. Miranda met with Moore under a flag of truce and asked for mercy from the English; the British Indians killed Miranda, burned the village and tortured any who were not able to escape. Fort San Luis personnel put together a second expedition and, again, they encountered the English near Ayubale. This time a second disciple of the gentle Saint Francis, the Reverend Juan de Parja, was killed, and the British Indians became uncontrollable. They killed Spanish Indians wantonly and forced twelve villages into submission. The only one to escape was one within the range of Fort San Luis' cannon. The British were thwarted in their efforts to capture the fort itself, but the garrison was withdrawn, and the fort demolished by October 1704. The Indians were largely removed from the area either as slaves or as a part of the 1,400 Apalachees, who were relocated at Moore's Fort on the Savannah River.<sup>98</sup> The evacuation of Fort San Luis left Governour Zuniga with two defense posts: Castillo de San Marcos and a tiny blockhouse at Salamoto just south of present day Jacksonville, Florida, on the bank of the

Saint John's. "Florida had once encompassed the territory from the Atlantic Ocean to the mouth of the Rio Grande and from the Gulf of Mexico to Nova Scotia. Now, the province was reduced to two precarious footholds liable to fall at any moment if the Carolinians renewed their attacks."<sup>100</sup> The Spanish authorities were anxious to retain possession of Saint Augustine and Florida because "Florida was the key to the defence of the Bahama Channel, the Carribean, and the Gulf of Mexico, and Spain could ill afford to let the province fall into English hands."<sup>101</sup>

The Spanish joined with the French in the summer of 1704 to plan an attack on the English at Charleston which became a reality in 1706 when a six-vessel convoy sailed north from Saint Augustine on August 31.<sup>102</sup> The expedition was ill-fated from the beginning because the ship carrying the land forces' commander, a French general, was separated from the other five ships by a Dutch sloop.<sup>103</sup> The five anchored at Sullivan's Island, across the mouth of the Cooper River from Charleston, on September 7, but they had been spotted in the process by lookouts on the island. Immediately, the Charlestonians, who were recovering from a yellow fever epidemic, began to mobilize by getting men to come from the outlying countryside to aid in the defence of their city. The invaders asked Governour Johnson to surrender which he refused to do, so on September 9 they landed a raiding party on nearby James Island and it was driven back by counter-attack. A second party of 160 men landed on a little piece of land between the Wando River and the Atlantic Ocean and did some minor destruction. The attackers were confident of their victory and decided to stay ashore for the night.<sup>104</sup> They built a fire and were roasting captured

Carolina chickens, when they were surprized by 100 militiamen Johnson had sent out and were completely defeated. Of the 160 enemies "caught feasting on the chicken, 12 were killed, 60 captured, and 6 or 7 drowned"<sup>105</sup> while attempting to swim to their ships. This confrontation gave the British the advantage and on September 11, Johnson, now the aggressor, dispatched six small launches and a fireship loaded with both explosives and combustibles to sail in the midst of the enemy ships and to attack. Captain Jacques LeFebvre, the fleet commander of the invaders, ordered his ships to the open sea, "putting an end to the Spanish-French attempt to take Charleston."<sup>106</sup> Now, at about this time, the land commander, General Arbousset, and 200 soldiers arrived aboard the estranged La Brillante. He must not have seen the departing ships, for he landed his troops east of Charleston and marched them toward the town. Arbousset may have thought that because he was an army general he could defeat the British, but whether the cause of his action was naivete, bravado or stupidity, it was all for naught, for they encountered an unit of Johnson's militia and were defeated at Holybush Plantation. Meanwhile, another militia detachment boarded La Brillante and captured it. The Carolinians took 320 French, Spanish, and Indian prisoners and killed more than thirty.<sup>107</sup> Back in Saint Augustine, Governor Corcoles blamed the separation of Arbousset's ship for the defeat and believed that the English could be driven out of Carolina; "he himself was eager to lead the invasion."<sup>108</sup>

The recurring armed conflicts involving the Carolinians doubtlessly caused some nervousness in official circles. These could not have helped with the recruiting of emigrants, for surely sane, responsible persons willing to travel the breadth of the

Atlantic to face a blade of Toledo steel must have been very scarce indeed. However, there was a question on the minds of Britons more urgent than Carolina's safety: Who would succeed Queen Anne on the thrones of England and Scotland? While it is apparent that Anne and her husband, George, prince of Denmark, took their responsibility to provide an heir to the crowns seriously, the only product of the Queen's seventeen pregnancies who lived any length of time was the fragile William, Duke of Gloucester, who died at the age of eleven. The English had come to terms with the idea that a new line of succession would be needed, and in 1701, declared the Act of Settlement which provided the Electress Sophia of Hanover, a grand-daughter of James VI, and her successors would come to the English throne if Anne died without children. North of the Borders, the Scots, sipping their pints in front of open fireplaces and watching the coals send smoke up the chimneys, must have shuddered in horror as they remembered the dying words of Queen Mary's own father, "Adieu, farewell, it cam' wi' a lass, it will pass wi' a lass."<sup>109</sup> The Scottish Parliament acted to protect the interests of their land and passed the Act of Security in 1703 which said that Scotland would choose its own sovereign after the Queen's death unless it had the same trading privileges as England. The Queen's commissioner refused to touch the act with his sceptre; this was the royal veto. The two countries continued at odds until 1706 when they negotiated a Treaty of Union. Despite much opposition which could not organize itself into a single, united anti-Union group, the Treaty of Union was approved at Edinburgh and the High Commissioner touched it with his sceptre in January. Among other provisions was one providing for Sophia and her Hanoverian descendants to be sovereigns of what



was now the United Kingdom. These political machinations were not without their significance to far-off Carolina. In London, former Governour John Archdale envisioned unified Scots and English living peaceably together on the colonial frontier and defending it from the Spanish.

If it please God that the Union succeed with Scotland, the principal place in Carolina, call'd Port-Royal, may be seated with English and Scots in a considerable body, because 't is a bold port, and also a Frontier upon the Spaniard at Saint Augustine which is but a weak settlement about 200 miles to the South West of it. The Scots did, about 20 years since, begin a settlement with about 10 families, but were disposs'd by the Spaniards. O how might the Scots, that go now as Switzers to serve Foregin Nations, how might they, I say, strenthen our American colonies and increase the trade of Great Britain and enrich themselves both at home and abroad. <sup>110</sup>

For all the eloquence of Archdale's plea, he was wrong in his selection of an enemy; the next round in the ongoing difficulties would not even see the Spanish. In 1715, the Yamassee Indians, surfeited with abuse by the traders from Charleston, formed an alliance with several other tribes and launched a war with the dawn-slaying of a party sent by Governour Charles Craven to promise a remedy for the Yamassee grievances. In an attack recalling the Campbells' slaying of the MacDonalds at Glencoe in 1692, the Indians entertained their British guests the night before and killed them at daylight April 15 in their principal town of Pocataligo.<sup>111</sup> Whether or not the French and Spanish contributed directly to the Indians' war effort remains to be seen, but the fact <sup>was</sup> that when the hostilities ceased, the Yamassees settled under the protection of Saint Augustine. Later, another tribe added to the woes of the British when Emperor Brims, principal chieftain of the Creek Confederacy, man-

aged to manipulate the French, English, and Spanish with a skill that would have done credit to the political strategists of Europe. He allowed the French to build and garrison Fort Toulouse near the confluence of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers in Upper Creek territory, modern Alabama, in 1717 while seven lesser chieftains were in Mexico City where they had been sent to swear allegiance to the Madrid crown. At the same time, he kept the English quiet through peaceful conversations which stalled any design of attack.<sup>112</sup> In the same year, Daniel, realizing that any peace at that time was a temporary one, kept the defence needs of the colony in mind and "for £960 currency...bought for frontier garrisons thirty-two of the Scottish rebels being sold into servitude for the rebellion of 1715 and urged the public to buy more from others to arrive."<sup>113</sup>

Back in Britain, a new colonization promotion was afoot. The Lords Proprietors granted Sir Robert Montgomery, Bart., lands between the Altamaha and Savannah Rivers where he planned "the most delightful country in the universe"<sup>114</sup> which he gave the grandiloquent name "the Margravate of Azilia."<sup>115</sup> Montgomery was the son of Sir Robert Montgomery of Skelmorlie, Ayrshire, an associate of Lord Cardross in the Stuart's Town venture; he was also descended from "one...among those knights of Nova Scotia purposely created...for settling a Scots colony in America."<sup>116</sup> The younger Sir Robert published "A Discourse Concerning the design'd Establishment of a New Colony to the south of Carolina, in the Most delightful Country of the Universe" in London in 1717 in which he explained "that my Design arises not from any sudden Motive, but a strong Bent of Genius I inherit from my ancestors."<sup>117</sup> The inclination toward colonization "Descended and ran down with



the Blood."<sup>118</sup> Although Montgomery never, in fact, visited it, in his short essay he offered a design for Azilia based "on a just square of twenty miles Each way or two hundred and Fifty-six Thousand acres laid out."<sup>119</sup> Montgomery's plans for his square colony called for four quadrants composed of farms with a common park in the center of each quadrant. The center of the four quadrants was to be the city wherein the margrave's house would be located. In his description, he wrote that "nature has not blessed the world with any tract which can be preferable to it; that Paradise with all her virgin beauties may be modestly supposed, at most, but equal to its native excellencies."<sup>120</sup> Paradise slipped from the fingers of the baronet when he failed to make a settlement within three years' time and the land reverted back to the Lords-Proprietors.

While Sir Robert dreamed of his New World Eden, trouble continued to brew between the courts at Madrid and London. George I, angered by Spain's invasion of Sicily and divers hostile acts against British property and subjects felt it necessary to declare war on the King of Spain in 1718. It appeared, however, that His Majesty's Carolinians had a new foe on the horizon. Several weeks' journey from Charleston, where the Mississippi River pours into the Gulf of Mexico, the French had planted their colours, and typical of colonials of all nationalities, they had named the site for a place back home--Orleans. East of Nouvelle Orleans, along the shoreline of the Gulf of Mexico, they had begun, more than a decade earlier, a small settlement amongst the Mauvila tribe of the Alabama Indians. These two settlements survive today as the international port cities of New Orleans, Louisiana, and Mobile, Alabama. But then, they simply added a new dimension to the

British colonials' anxiety.<sup>121</sup>

Emissaries from Carolina to London urged the royal government to "imitate France's policy of securing the frontier by a line of forts."<sup>122</sup> The Privy Council did not seem to care very much about the threat to the Carolina frontier at that time; it did, nevertheless, pay for the building of a single fort and ordered the fort commander "not to suffer any other nation to take possession of the said River, (the Altamaha) or the Sea Coast from Port Royal to Saint Augustine."<sup>123</sup> Fort King George was built at the mouth of the river, some ninety miles north of Saint Augustine, in an effort to avert a rumoured threat that the French intended to seize control of the river. The plans called for a settlement to be built around the fort which would be the last British outpost to the south against the Spanish and any French who came that way. "Not Oswego in 1727," wrote Professor Crane, "but Altamaha in 1721 saw the inception of the British eighteenth century scene of frontier outposts to counteract French expansion."<sup>124</sup> The fort, it was hoped, would also halt the hostilities by Spain and her Indian allies while securing England's title to the disputed region as far south as Saint Augustine. Colonel John Barnwell and a band of scouts recruited in a state of drunkenness set out in June 1721 in a small convoy of vessels to build a "rude stockade on the north bank of the Altamaha"<sup>125</sup> at its confluence with Snow Creek.<sup>126</sup> The outpost consisted of a three-story block-house twenty-six feet square with crude earthworks five to six feet high forming a right triangle with the blockhouse and defending the land side of the fort. Within the triangle lay the bark and thatch huts used as living quarters for Barnwell's men. The fort building effort was seriously hampered from the

outset by drunkenness, desertion, sickness, and mutiny. Although Barnwell's journal makes clear that the men were sent into swamps next to where the fort was located "wading naked up to the waist or sometimes to the neck"<sup>127</sup> to get logs to build the fort, he curiously fails to mention the very real threat of death his men were constantly under from the poisonous snakes that are very commonly found in such waters in the hot, summer months. But in spite of snakes, rum, sickness, and desertion, the tiny bastion was erected by the end of the summer at a cost of £960.8.0.<sup>128</sup> The British troops stationed there found it a hard post; indeed, "service in the swamp surrounded fort where the men died like flies was so trying that soldiers even deserted to the Spaniards."<sup>129</sup> The first fort burned to the ground in 1725 and was replaced with one of inferior quality which was shut down in 1727 after an inspection by Captain Edward Massey determined that it was no longer needed. The soldiers, members of His Majesty's Independent Company, the first British regulars stationed in Carolina, were reassigned to Port Royal. During the time that the fort was active, 140 officers and men died due to poor food, fever, and frequent skirmishes. They were buried on the bluff overlooking the river branch in "what is presumed the first British military cemetery in the United States."<sup>130</sup> In modern times, this bivouac of the dead has been excavated and thirteen separate human skeletons have been found intact. These were reburied and, with public monies, each of the thirteen graves was marked "Soldier of Fort King George."<sup>131</sup>

Hardly was the little stockade up in 1721 when Governour Benavides sent his accountant in March 1722 to demand its destruction. This envoy based his argument on the Treaty of Madrid of 1670, but

Governour Francis Nicholson claimed ignorance of the matter; he did promise that if he heard of change in Britain's relationships with Spain "he would settle the matter of Fort King George with Benavides."<sup>132</sup> In October Philip V and the Council of the Indies, angered about the fort, ordered the Spanish ambassador at London to demand its evacuation or threaten forcible action. The vice-roy of New Spain and the governour of Cuba were ordered to prepare for war in case the British rejected the Spanish ultimatum. British authorities first ordered Nicholson to be friendly with the Spanish in the adjoining areas; later, in 1723, "these same officials" changed their tones and "became belligerent."<sup>133</sup> Lord Carteret, a Carolina Proprietor, wrote the ambassador that the Board of Trade and Plantations had studied the matter and concluded the fort was not in Florida, but on the "Florida-Carolina frontier."<sup>134</sup> In April 1724, Benavides sent twenty-six men north to deliver again an ultimatum to Nicholson. For some unexplained reason, the Spaniards halted at Fort King George, where Barnwell's men disarmed them, seized their longboats, and imprisoned them for three days before allowing them to proceed to Charleston under guard. They were imprisoned at Charleston for some time before being released; Benavides took no action against the British.<sup>135</sup> The following year, the Saint Augustine governour again sent his representatives to Charleston; this time, however, there was nothing which could be closed. The Spanish scouts had obviously not informed the Saint Augustine authorities that the fort burned in the winter of 1725 and the troops had left.<sup>136</sup> When the fort was rebuilt, Benavides chose to ignore it.

Whether because of the British at Fort King George or some

other reason, the French never tried to seize control of the Altamaha River, and for a while, Spanish hostilities subsided. The British, nonetheless, seemed ever conscious of the need to maintain good relations with the Indians and also for the Indians to get along with each other. The Carolinians engineered a peace conference between the Creeks and the Cherokees in January 1727 complete with punchbowl and cannonades.<sup>137</sup> The two had been at odds since the Cherokees murdered a Creek party in 1716 and joined the British side in the Yamassee War against an alliance which included the Creeks. The latter had entered into a peace pact with Charleston in 1717 in which the English promised not to extend their settlements west of the Savannah. The Lower Creeks, those closest to Florida, and the Yamassees continued to be influenced by the Spanish Indians and participated in raids against white-held property in Carolina's southern regions. Finally, in March 1728, an English Carolinian, John Palmer, who had distinguished himself in the Yamassee War of 1715 led a party of seventy-nine whites and ninety-odd Indians in a dawn raid against the Yamassees in the "very shadow of the castle of Saint Augustine,"<sup>138</sup> Palmer's men had been spotted as they landed at the Saint John's River, and the Indians in the area, on learning of the alarm, massed at Nombre de Dios "the best fortified Yamassee village."<sup>139</sup> Palmer won his battle there on March 9, and the Indians retreated to the castle. Four days later, Palmer and his men left Florida burning in their wake, Nombre de Dios, destroying the village chapel and stealing its religious ornaments and statues.<sup>140</sup> Palmer's raid is significant in that it ended an era; it was the last Anglo-Spanish confrontation of any import before the English founding of Georgia. Additionally, so clearly did Havana under-

stand this sort of message that the governour in Cuba wrote President Arthur Middleton his assurance of a desire for peace. Thus ended some ten years of uncertain truce and restored "something like stability to Anglo-Creek relations."<sup>141</sup> This stability helped to make possible, according to Crane, the "later frontier achievements of Oglethorpe."<sup>142</sup>

Now that the Spanish and Indians were quiet, it seemed inevitable that the French would disturb the peace of the English. And so they did. A portion of the Cherokee nation, who lived beyond the Great Smoky Mountains and were known as the Overhill Cherokees, were talking with French Indians. Charleston officials sent an English emissary to secretly thwart the French-sponsored moves.<sup>143</sup> He warned the Tennessee Warriour, "acknowledged King of the Upper Cherokees,"<sup>144</sup> that the visiting Indians were tools of the French whites who wanted peace with the Cherokees in order to build a fort in their country. Further, the envoy claimed the French lived too far away to help the Cherokees against their enemies. Their problem grew more serious in 1728 and 1729 as the Tennessee Warriour favoured peace with the French Indians; he was opposed by Moy Toy, head warriour of the Great Tellico branch of the Overhills. The Overhill branch was especially important to Charleston because "they were the bulwark against the French Indians of the Northwest."<sup>145</sup> The French threat never materialized, and on its heels there came a curious event in the annals of American colonial history: the visit of Sir Alexander Cumming, Bart.

Sir Alexander Cumming, Bart., was the son of Sir Alexander Cumming, M.P., a Nova Scotia baronet of Culter, Aberdeenshire,<sup>146</sup> and Elizabeth Swinton, daughter of Sir Alexander Swinton, a Scottish judge.<sup>147</sup> His wife, Amy Whitehall,<sup>148</sup> dreamed one night that her



husband undertook a voyage to America for the purpose of visiting the Cherokee mountains "on the borders of South Carolina and Virginia."<sup>149</sup> Cumming, who was called to the Scottish bar in 1714<sup>150</sup> "and also held a captain's commission, it is said, in the Russian<sup>151</sup> army" must have been a dutiful husband or an eccentric for he set off from Gravesend on the Thames on September 13, 1729 (old style) aboard the James Goodwill, Captain Crockett,<sup>152</sup> arriving in Charleston on December 5. He spent the winter in the town before setting off for the Cherokee country March 11, 1730.<sup>153</sup> Accompanied by a few traders and an interpreter, Cumming followed a trail to the mountains going by way of Ninety-Six to the important town of Keowee, which was ninety-six miles on the trail from Ninety-Six.<sup>154</sup> At Keowee, Cumming added Ludovick Grant, a trader who had been living amongst the Overhill Cherokees for about three years, and who was en route from his home at Great Tellico to Charleston on business.<sup>155</sup> Cumming told Grant and some other traders travelling with him that "he had no business but to see the country"<sup>156</sup> and invited them along for a few days before they went down; they accepted. They "dined that day all together at the house of Joseph Baker Trader in Keowee"<sup>157</sup> and talked of the fact that the Indians were not in their best disposition. In the evening, the traders went to the town house, a sort of Indian public house where "men and women meet every night when they are not out hunting."<sup>158</sup> Sir Alexander was amongst the whites and after a while, he took it upon himself to make a speech, which he later made everywhere in the Indian nation that he went. His speech, in essence, avowed that he was a private not a public person, one of King George's "children,"<sup>159</sup> and he only wanted the private satisfaction of seeing the country.



He would drink the King's health hoping that all persons would pledge him which he accordingly did upon his knee desiring us to follow his Example and Wee Desired the Indians to do so. Upon which Sir Alexander said it was easy to make them all good subjects, but I must not omit a circumstance pretty Extraordinary, Sir Alexander carried with him into the Town house, his gun, his Cutlass, and a pair of pistols, and one of the Traders, telling that the Indians never came armed and did not like that any should. He answered with a Wild look, that his intention was if any of the Indians had refused the King's health to have taken a brand out of the fire that Burns in the middle of the room and have set fire to the house. That he would have guarded the door himself and put to death everyone that endeavoured to make Their Escape that they might have all been consumed to ashes. This strange speech which I and the other Traders heard him make, did not give some of them who were to have been of the party a very favourable opinion of him, so they concluded it would be safer for them to stay and leave him and me to pursue our Journey which accordingly we did next morning and passing thro' all the Towns betwixt that and Telliqual where I lived. He seldom staid above two or three hours, never above a night at any place....From Telliqual, we rode over to Tannassie and afterwards returned by Nequasae, where several traders met us and a good many Indians.<sup>160</sup>

The events at Nequisee are given differently by Grant and the Dictionary of National Biography from Earliest Times to 1900. The DNB's sketch of the Aberdeenshire baronet's life says that on April 3, 1730, the Cherokee tribe declared Moy Toy of Telliqual its emperor and Cumming a "lawgiver, commander, leader and chief of the Cherokee nation and witness of the powers of God"<sup>161</sup> at a meeting at Nequissee. In contrast, Grant's deposition indicates that Cumming was, in fact, presented with a king's crown, but it was only a souvenir and not a badge of his rank.

Sir Alexander had been informed of all the ceremonies that are used in making a head beloved man of which there are a great many in this nation. They are called Ouka, and as we translate that word King so we call the cap he wears upon that occasion his crown, it resembles a wig and is made of Possum's <sup>162</sup> hair Dyed Red or Yellow, Sir Alexander was desirous of seeing one of them, and there being none at that Towne One was sent for to some other Towne, He Expressed Great Satisfaction at the Seeing of it, and he told the Indians that he would carry it to England and give it to the

great King George.<sup>163</sup>

At the same time, Cumming repeated his now familiar speech pledging loyalty to the British crown, and he told the Indians "that he was soon going over the Great Water and if any of them would go with him to see England, he would carry them,"<sup>164</sup> Grant, who "was there present the whole time,"<sup>165</sup> later recalled. Cumming, true to his word, took seven tribal leaders to England aboard the Fox, man-of-war, arrived at Dover June 5, 1730.<sup>166</sup> Less than two weeks later, on June 18, they were presented to the King in the Royal Chapel at Windsor.<sup>167</sup> Later in the year, with the baronet acting for Moy Toy, a treaty clumsily entitled "Articles of Friendship and Commerce proposed by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations to the Deputies of the Cherokee Indians in South Carolina by His Majesty's order on Monday the 7th day of September 1730" was signed by Alured Popple for the Board of Trade and <sup>OUCONECAW</sup> OukanUlah, Skalikosen Ketagustah, Tahtowe, Clogoittah, <sup>A</sup> Kallanah, and Ukwansequa on behalf of the Cherokee people.<sup>168</sup>

Cumming, as Moy Toy's representative, had earlier laid the crown of the Cherokees, presumably the one he was given at Nequissee, the scalps of the tribal enemies, and the feathers of glory at the feet of King George in token of the Indians' obedience.<sup>169</sup>

The treaty spoke of the highly civilized Cherokees as "the King's good children and subjects."<sup>170</sup> For an assortment of weapons, blankets, and cloth, the crown gained millions of acres of land, allies in defence, and exclusive trading and territorial rights. No other nation would be allowed to trade with the tribe or build houses in its region. The English in Carolina were to be furnished "with all manner of goods that they want and to make haste to build houses, and to plant corn from Charles Towne towards to



"Chiefs from Carolina," an engraving made in 1730 by Isaac Basire of London from a painting by Markham shows the seven Indians who went with Cumming to England. They are (from left) Ouconecaw, Skalikosen Ketagustah, Kallanah, OukanUlah, Tahtowe, Clogoitta, and Ukwansequa. Emma Lila Fundaburke, ed., Southeastern Indians: A Catalogue of Pictures 1654-1860. (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1969), plate 109

the town of the Cherokees behind the great mountains."<sup>171</sup> For a single piece of red cloth, the English were given lands on both sides of the great mountains, but the ever-generous George allowed the Indians to live where they pleased. Thus, for hardly more than a handful of coppers did the British come into possession of the gold fields in the Georgia mountains which would yield millions of dollars in the precious metal years before the strike at Sutter's Fort in California had been made.<sup>172</sup> But the British like De Soto never discovered what they had and apart from trade with the Indians, they derived little cash value from the hills.

The Indians accepted the crown's offer two days later with <sup>SKALI KOLEN</sup> Kétagustah replying for his people, "We look upon the Great King George as the Sun and as our father..."<sup>173</sup> and observed that "the person that was in our country" (Cumming) was not present. He, then, gave feathers as a token of confirmation saying "this is our way of talking which is the same thing to us as your letters in the book are to you..."<sup>174</sup> In his account, Ludovick Grant denied that the Indians had yielded their lands. Speaking of the events at Nequisee, he swore,

I was there present the whole time and am positive that there was not the least word spoke about Surrendering any lands. I know all the people that went over to England well, I know they had no Commission of authority from the Nation to give away any of their land, and I know they had not power or right in themselves to do it, I was present when they returned from England and when the presents they Brought over with them were distributed and heard them make their report of all that they had seen but I never heard one word about their Surrendering their Country. On the contrary, They brought with them a written paper of Parchment which I have sen and read the title of which is articles proposed or 'proposals made by the Lords of Trade to the Cherokees, and there is the answer to these proposals but not the least tendency towards any surrender of the Land.<sup>175</sup>

Grant's account was backed up in a conversation between Governor James Glen, a native of Linlithgow, West Lothian,<sup>176</sup> and

Ouconecaw, a Cherokee head man; Richard Smith, a trader, reported the dialogue and swore to its correctness.<sup>177</sup> Ouconecaw said that he was the only one living of the seven Indians who went to see the "Great King George." He recalled the circumstances surrounding the trip which were, in the main, as Grant testified except that he recollected that none of the Indians were at first interested in going abroad. Asked specifically by the governour if Cumming, the King or the King's "beloved men" had proposed ever that the Cherokees surrender their lands, Ouconecaw replied,

I am certain there was no such matter ever mentioned either by the Warriour in our Country or any of our people nor was it ever thought of, and I am equally certain that there was no proposal of that kind made while we were in England either by the Great King George or any of his beloved men, nor had we power to agree to any such proposal, nor did I ever hear that question asked till now, I understand so much that if our country had been given away then we could not have given it to you. I remember the talk we had in England perfectly well, that we would be one with the white people in War, That is they assisted us in our wars against our enemies We would assist them against their enemies.<sup>178</sup>

Grant offers still another argument to reinforce the position that the Indians did not, in fact, surrender title to their lands. The Cherokees ran afoul of the English authorities when they took some goods belonging to traders and refused to give satisfaction. The English, thereupon, stopped trade, and the Indians began trading with the Virginia traders. Charleston authorities sent Grant and others into the Catawba Indian nation to stop the Virginians with the result that the Cherokees had to go to Charleston to make their submission to the Carolinians. They "accordingly came into Charleston for that reason. The government used them well & purchased a small spot of ground from them near Toogaleu to built a fort upon."<sup>179</sup> Governour Robert



Johnson, according to Grant, had been with the Indians in England, coming over on the same ship with them and "would certainly never have purchased a small spot of their land from them had they Surrendered the whole to His Majesty when they were in England."<sup>180</sup>

Cumming, meanwhile, came under fire for having cheated Carolinians with fraudulent promissory notes. Although he did not answer these charges, he did not return with the Indians. Instead, he remained in Britain, becoming in his final years a poor brother of the Charterhouse. The New World continued in his thoughts though, for among several schemes that he attempted to interest the government in was one to relocate 3,000,000 Jewish families in the Cherokee mountains and have them cultivate the lands there in an effort to reduce the British national debt.<sup>181</sup> The precise mechanics of this venture went to the grave with the baronet.

During this time, an event took place in London that in itself seems too trivial to mention--an English debtor died in Fleet Street gaol. What makes this particular death significant is that he was a friend of a member of Parliament who felt some remedy for the plight of the debtors was needed. In 1728, Robert Castell, "an ingenious gentleman eminently skilled in architecture,"<sup>182</sup> died in the prison of smallpox. Castell pleaded with his gaolers not to be placed where the dreaded pox raged, but he was. During his confinement, he was visited by his friend, James Edward Oglethorpe, M.P. for Haslemere, Surrey,<sup>183</sup> who had recently returned from service as first secretary and aide-de-camp to Prince Eugene of Savoy, which positions he obtained on the recommendation of his distant kinsman, the Duke of Argyll.<sup>184</sup>

Grieved by the tragedy and injustice of Castell's death, Oglethorpe proposed and was subsequently made chairman of a committee of Parliament to investigate the conditions at Fleet Street and Marshalsea, both debtors' prisons. This committee, which included such noteworthy persons as the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Admiral Vernon, included in its recommendations the releasing of dozens of prisoners, which was accomplished in 1729.<sup>185</sup> The result of opening the gaols was "that the cities of London, Westminster, and parts adjacent do abound with great numbers of indigent persons who are reduced to such necessity as to become burthensome to the public and who would be willing to seek a livelihood in any of His Majesty's plantations in America, if they were provided with a passage and means of settling there." Thus wrote the Earl of Egmont and others to the Privy Council in 1729.<sup>186</sup> In the inner recesses of their minds, Egmont and his colleagues may have been thinking about the land that Parliament had just bought from the Lords Proprietors of Carolina--the entire Carolina territory minus one-eighth. The crown authorities had decided this was too much land for one governour and split the region in two creating North Carolina and South Carolina with the latter's southern boundary at the Savannah River. Egmont and company had told the Privy Council that they would assume responsibility for the entire scheme of colonizing the land, building a province into a proprietary government, if they could have the land south of the Savannah. The petition worked its way through the council's committee structure into that of the Board of Trade, who decided that the petition should be granted. Upon being told of this, the King issued a charter on June 9, 1732, giving twenty-one nobles and gentlemen responsibility for the district that



would be named in his honour.<sup>187</sup> Included in that list, in addition to Oglethorpe and Egmont was one native Scot, Adam Anderson, "forty years clerk in the South Sea House."<sup>188</sup> It would be ten years before the second Scot was named a Trustee. That Trustee, Alexander Hume Campbell, was a man of some importance, for he was a brother of the Earl of Marchmont, and the Lord Registrar of Scotland.<sup>189</sup>

It would be as naive as it would be pleasant to think that the crown's interest in Georgia was only humanitarian. Bearing in mind that the new colony was endorsed by both the Privy Council and the Board of Trade, it seems more than obvious that commerce and defence were important factors. In fact, in its opening lines, the charter spells out quite clearly the threat on the southern frontier stating that the function of Georgia is to provide a home for the poor and to defend the endangered side.<sup>190</sup>

Pratt Insh describes the colony's establishment as

outside the general range of English colonial expansion; it owed its origin partly to the nascent philanthropic tendencies of the eighteenth century, partly to political considerations; designed by Oglethorpe as a colony of refuge for men who had suffered imprisonment for debt, Georgia commended itself both to the American colonists and to the imperial government as a barrier against Spanish agencies.<sup>191</sup>

While the charter does not go into trade regulations, nonetheless, one must surmise that the new colony would be largely consumer, content for time to come with wrestling arable fields from woodlands thick with undergrowth, building cabins and day-to-day survival. And while the plan was to populate the colony with England's poor, provisions were made for others, including the wealthy, to go, too.

In the ensuing months, the board commenced to set up an organization and structure to raise the first band to cross the

ocean to the new province. One of the first commitments they made was to retain a Scottish botanist, for Benjamyn Martyn had noted that the region was located at "about the same latitude with part of China, Persia, Palestine, and the Madeiras, it is highly probable that, when, hereafter, it shall be well peopled and rightly cultivated England may be supplied from thence with raw silk, wine, oil, dyes, drugs, and many other materials for manufactures which she is obliged to purchase from Southern countries."<sup>192</sup> In order to produce these items, some botanical specimens had to be conveyed there by someone who knew what he was doing. Dr. William Houstoun, "Doctor of Physick of the University of Saint Andrews at a salary of £200 for two years"<sup>193</sup> was retained in the autumn of 1732. Houstoun agreed to sail to the Madeiras and thence to America and for two years "at my own charge and expence"<sup>194</sup> to collect whatever plants the Trustees sought and have them taken to Georgia. At the end of that time, he agreed to go and live in the colony "at his own expence to help preserve and propagate the plants."<sup>195</sup> On October 4, 1732, Houstoun, at London, signed a receipt for £75 as payment in full for one year. There is no indication in the Trustees' records as to why Houstoun took the lesser figure for his income. However, in one realizes that a London accountant of that period made an annual salary of £50 as did the Trustees' secretary or managing director, one can only conclude that £75 must have seemed a fortune to a scholar just come from far distant Saint Andrews.<sup>196</sup> Nevertheless, Dr. Houstoun's instructions from the Common Council of the Trustees dated October 12, 1732, directed him to board the Amelia, Captain Brooks, for Madeira and Jamaica. He was to gather vines, seeds, roots, and cuttings being particularly careful about getting a cinnamon

tree cutting. From Jamaica, he was to go to Cartagena, Vera Cruz, Campechy and Panama, hunting for still more plants and things to grow. The botanist was to send his harvest from time to time to James St. Julian at Charleston. Upon completion of his voyages, Dr. Houstoun was to take any plants he had and go to live in Georgia. In his travels, he was especially requested "to learn about the white mulberry tree which is most proper for the nourishment of silkworms."<sup>197</sup> Houstoun, who had been recommended by Sir Hans Sloane, Bart., founder of the British Museum and holder of a Trustees' commission to raise funds for Georgia, died in Jamaica, his task far from complete.<sup>198</sup>

The first colonists to emigrate were not so prestigious as the man who was collecting things for them to grow. An item in the Caledonian Mercury describes them as "25 families, consisting of carpenters, brick-layers, plumbers, farmers &c. who take with them all proper utensils according to their respective occupations for building and manuring the lands there."<sup>199</sup> The colonists were being prepared for the military needs of the colony by "learning discipline from the guards this month past and in which all the rest must be instructed that go thither."<sup>200</sup> They were to have muskets, bayonets, and swords "in case they should be attacked by the Indians or meet with any other resistance."<sup>201</sup> The article further commented on the attention that was being paid to their passage. "The said ship will take on board 10 tuns of the very best and strongest beer brewed by Alderman Parsons, and will likewise take in at Madeira 5 tuns of wine for the service of this colony."<sup>202</sup> This first party of emigrants to the Georgia colony consisted of ninety-one men, women, and children, plus Oglethorpe who were pas-

sengers on the Anne, Captain John Thomas, when it sailed in November 1732, from Gravesend to arrive in Charleston January 13, 1733.<sup>203</sup> The party was neither entirely debtor nor entirely English. Paul Amatis from the Italian Piedmont was recruited to introduce the silk industry to the colony, and a Frenchman, Daniel Thibaut, "understands vines."<sup>204</sup> There was a Welsh carpenter-physician, Noble Jones, and several with Scottish surnames including Peter Gordon, who is presumed to be English.<sup>205</sup> Thomas Christie, 32, was a merchant;<sup>206</sup> James Muir, 38, made perukes. John (Richard) Cameron, 35, was a servant to Francis Scott, 40, a reduced military officer. John Mackoy (Mackay), 25, was a servant to Joseph Stanley, 45, stockingmaker, "who can reel and draw silk."<sup>207</sup> James Wilson, 21, was a sawyer. Professor Saye has shown definitively that there were no more than a dozen persons who had been gaoled for debts ever to emigrate to Georgia. The myth that Georgia's earliest colonists were refugees from Fleet Street and other such places derives, one supposes, not only from the fact that this was the avowed purpose of the colony's founders, but also that hundreds did come either "on the charity" of the Trustees or as servants to an individual. However, it must be made clear that those who went "on the charity" were not necessarily <sup>Poor</sup> nor even British. Saye states of 1,847 persons sent "on the charity" through the tenth year, 1742, 839 were foreign Protestants; the remainder came from the British Isles.<sup>208</sup> Of those going out free, many had their expenses paid because they were able to provide an useful service to the colony. Included among these were Amatis and Thibaut, who could teach their skills to others; the Reverends John Wesley, George Whitefield, Samuel Quincy, and August Spangenberg, who took care of the spiritual needs

needs of the colony; the Reverend Charles Wesley, who was Oglethorpe's secretary; and William Stephens, one-time member of Parliament for Newport, Isle of Wight, and more recently superintendent of the York Buildings Company timber operation at Abernethy, Perthshire,<sup>209</sup> who served as secretary or more accurately the eyes and ears of the Trustees.

These people and others after them came for a variety of reasons, including religious, political, and adventurous ones. Although Catholics were excluded from the colony because it was feared they might support the Catholic forces of Philip V, all the other religions of the world were welcomed. To the consternation of the Trustees, the second shipload of emigrants included a band of forty Portugese Sephardic Jews sent over with subscriptions raised by their London coreligionists.<sup>210</sup> So upset did the Trustees get lest their colony should become known as a haven for Israelites that they lifted the authorization granted the London Jews to raise funds for Georgia.<sup>211</sup> Next came the Lutherans of Salzburgh fleeing from Leopold, Count of Firmina and Archbishop of Salzburgh, who was trying to force them back into the Roman fold. There came a band of Moravian Brethren from Germany, whose pacifist teachings would not allow them to remain long where firearms were a necessity, a group of French Huguenots, and before the colony was occupied two years a band of Scots had come to make their fortune.

## Chapter II

Interest in Scotland as evidenced by the Caledonian Mercury's mention of Georgia began in early 1732. The issue of Friday, February 11, 1732, quoted the London Evening Post of February 3, thus, "Last week his Majesty in Council was graciously pleased to give his royal Sanction to a Charter for incorporating Trustees for providing for the Poor, by settling a new colony in South Carolina which is to be called Georgia."<sup>1</sup> Later, "Wye's Letter Verbatim from London, June 10" reported "The Lords and Gentlemen, associates for settling the new colonies of Georgia in Carolina, met last Thursday at Manwarring Coffee-house in the city, to forward the said settlement which people will be of great use to the public, and beneficial to trade."<sup>2</sup> Wye's letter of July 15 spelled out some of the particulars of the Trustees' proposals. "The Trustees...propose to give to every man and woman that will go thither £20 each and £10 to everyone of the children, and have lands given to themselves and their heirs to enjoy it forever." It was reported that the king had given £10,000 "for the encouragement of the undertaking."<sup>3</sup> Five days later, the Mercury printed a letter from the Evening Posts of July 20 from "an English gentleman at Alicante dated July 9." They were "very impatient here to learn the particulars of the charter for establishing the new colony in Georgia."<sup>4</sup> The following week, on Thursday the 27th, there appeared a description of the colony's seal. It would have "the figures of rivers resting upon urns, representing the Altamaha and Savannah, the boundaries of Georgia and between them the Genius of the Colony, seated, with the cap of Liberty on her head, a spear in one hand, and a cornucopia in the



other with this motto, Colonia Georgia Aug.<sup>5</sup> The reverse is to be silkworms, some having finished their web; with this motto, Non Sibi Sed Aliis."<sup>6</sup> The activities of the earliest days of the colony attracted a great deal of interest in the Edinburgh newspaper, and the Trustees' activities were regularly reported although sometimes names were confused, as in the case of William Houstoun's being identified as Dr. Melmouth<sup>7</sup> and Sir Gilbert Heathcote being called Sir George Heathcote.<sup>8</sup> Nothing was too small to escape notice in Wye's letter printed July 31, which reported that several more had applied to <sup>go</sup> over at a meeting of the Trustees "at their house in old Palace Yard, Westminster."<sup>9</sup>

Much of the news of these early months had to do with plans for peopling the colony and with the collections of funds to be used in its behalf. In Wye's letter appearing on Thursday, August 3rd, he reported that "several hundreds of Saltsburgers are come over from Holland, and lodge at St. Catherine's for the present, till they can be employed here, or sent to our colonies in America; and as that of Georgia is now establishing, 'tis thought the most useful part will go thither."<sup>10</sup> The Trustees, he reported, had decided, "that no people will be sent to the new colony of Georgia till next Spring, and that in the meantime, collections are to be made for sending them over and settling them."<sup>11</sup> As August moved ahead, the Trustees' attention turned from people to money and Wye wrote, Saturday, August 5th, that they had granted several commissions for collecting "charity from divers parts of the kingdom, for the more speedy carrying out of that affair."<sup>12</sup> Five days later, he revealed that three of the Trustees, Vernon, Hucks and Heathcote, had each paid £100 into the Bank of England for the colony's use.<sup>13</sup> Wye's letter of Saturday, September 2nd



told that Heathcote had addressed the Trustees on the previous Thursday mentioning "the great charity of the undertaking and the future benefit arising to England."<sup>14</sup> Among other things, it would save Britain £200,000 a year which it presently paid for raw silk from the Italian Piedmont. He gave twenty guineas, then, and each of the directors gave ten each.<sup>15</sup> Through members who were also involved in such trading companies as the South Seas Company and the East India Company, it was hoped to interest those and other organizations as well as private persons. Within six weeks' time, Wye was able to report that the pocketbooks of two private persons had been touched. The Dowager Duchess of Marlborough "was reported to have come by coach to the Royal Exchange" whereupon she sent for Heathcote and Oglethorpe. She presented them with banknotes of £1,000 "towards settling poor families in Georgia."<sup>16</sup> In October, he said that the Trustees had sat until nearly 10 P.M. on Thursday, the 11th and "upon the pressing necessities of the people" resolved to send seventy colonists in November, "being all their fund will afford as yet."<sup>17</sup> A poor man applied to Oglethorpe for himself and his family to go over, but he was told that there was no more money. One Archibald Hutcheson, Esq. "happening to be present and hearing the great lamentations of the poor man, paid the charges...which was £30."<sup>18</sup> On October 19, the London reporter said that members of the building trades were going to make the necessary buildings there and "many private charities are collecting towards this great and noble undertaking...."<sup>19</sup> In the period between the 6th of November and the 23rd, Wye wrote of the Anne's departure in seven separate dispatches; some of which were corrections of others sent in error. Finally, on November 18, he was able to write, and correctly so,

"The Ship Anne, with James Oglethorpe, Esq., and the poor families on board for Georgia sailed from Gravesend yesterday morning on her voyage."<sup>20</sup>

After four months of reporting rather routine news of the Trustees, the correspondent wrote March 1, news that a letter from Oglethorpe had been received by the Trustees. The Carolinians had received them well and the crossing had gone well: "the poor families which went with him got all safe except two children who died in the voyage but were sickly before they went out to sea...."<sup>21</sup> Dr. William Houstoun was heard from on Wednesday, March 7th and Wye said that he gave "a very good account of his collecting various plants &c. in Jamaica, to send over to Georgia."<sup>22</sup> By mid-April Oglethorpe had been heard from again and the Mercury's correspondent wrote, "We hear ground was marked out for building a new town on the river Savannah to be called by that name." A great part had been cleared by one month's labour and "they had begun to build houses." The governour and merchants of Carolina "had given them all possible assistance," two hundred head of cattle, "and allowed them a detachment of soldiers who were employed also in clearing the woods and paid for their labour by Mr. Oglethorpe. 'Tis added also that the chiefs of one of the neighbouring Indian nations had sent to desire Friendship, Trade and correspondence with them, and to promise, in that case, their friendship and assistance."<sup>23</sup> "A most curious pamphlet" had caught the writer's eye in early May.<sup>24</sup> It was supposed to have been written by Oglethorpe and given by the Trustees to the Lords and members of Parliament.

It is remarked in the curious pamphlet mentioned in my last...that the Trustees use the utmost care by a strict examination of those who desire to go over to

send none who are in any way useful at home. They admit no sailors, no husband-men or labourers from the country, they confine the charity to such only as fall into misfortunes in trade; and even admit none of those who can get a subsistence here. They suffer none to go who would leave their wives and families without support,, none who can have the character of lazy immoral men, and none who are in debt,<sup>25</sup> and will go without the consent of their creditors.

By mid-July both the Caledonian Mercury and the Edinburgh Eccho were reporting matters related to the defence of the new settlement. "We hear," reported the Mercury, quoting the Evening Posts of July 12, "the king has ordered 30 cannon of 9 pounds each, a great number of small arms, hangers, pouches, and other accoutrements, sufficient for 300 men, with powder and ball for the new colony of Georgia."<sup>26</sup> The Eccho, reporting "Advices by Tuesday's Post, London July 19," said,

The Spaniards... seem to be meditating something extraordinary, since 'tis advised from Madrid that the armament so long talk'd of is now compleated;...however, these Spanish accounts are not credited here since our merchant letters from the ports of Spain take no notice of them...

Letters from Georgia, 14 days fresher than the former give an account of a great deal of work being done there, and particularly that the houses were built sufficient to contain the most part of the people: That the town of Savannah was palisaded round with part of the cannon, secured against any attack, tho' no such thing was expected, the Indian nations continuing in perfect friendship, and that the wheat which had been sowed in several gardens, which had been planted with fruit trees, onions, leaks, pot herbs &c. came up well, and were very promising.<sup>27</sup>

All this news of the fledgling Georgia was not wasted on Scots readers. On August 1, 1733, Patrick Houstoun of Glasgow, a merchant, was granted 500 acres of land in Georgia at the request of his kinsman, Dr. Houstoun, the botanist. Patrick, the second son of Patrick Houstoun, was 35 and had spent one year in his youth reading humanity and literature with Professor Ross

at Glasgow.<sup>28</sup> His grant called for him to take ten men servants out within one year and to abide there three years. He was responsible for the clearing of 200 acres in ten years, and the planting of 2,000 white mulberry trees at the same time. Additionally, he was to plant 1,000 white mulberry trees on every 100 of the 300 acres left cleared in eighteen years.<sup>29</sup> On completion of their service, his servants were to get twenty acres from the Trustees on request.<sup>30</sup> The terms of Houstoun's grant were standard with the Trustees. More than two months later, two more Scots received large land grants. Dr. Patrick Tailfer, a physician and stepson of Agnes Campbell, Lady Roseburn, received 500 acres,<sup>31</sup> and John Baillie and Andrew Grant, Edinburgh merchants, received 400 acres each.<sup>32</sup> The terms were similar to Houstoun's save that Baillie and Grant were responsible for carrying eight servants each. On November 14, 1733, three more Scots were granted large acreages. They were a possible kinsman of Patrick Houstoun, James Houstoun, also a Glasgow merchant, whose 500 acre grant was arranged by Dr. Robert Houstoun,<sup>33</sup> and the Stirling brothers, Hugh and William, both Glasgow merchants,<sup>34</sup> who were granted 500 acres each. The Stirlings were the second and third sons of Sir Mungo Stirling of Glorat and the nephew of Robert Stirling, who had invested in the Darien scheme.<sup>35</sup> The conditions of their grants, all in tail male, were the same as Patrick Houstoun's. Tail male, sometimes tale male, was a system, controversial from the moment it was created, through which property in Georgia could pass only to male heirs or else revert to the Trustees. In this same group, there was one more Scot to receive land in the same general period. Joseph Wardrope, an Edinburgh burgess and house carpenter, received 150 acres and agreed to take three servants on January

30, 1734.<sup>36</sup> The Trustees generally gave fifty acres for each able servant one carried out.

Of this party, all of whom, it must be noted, were to pay for several individuals, Andrew Grant and William Stirling formed the advance delegation, arriving in the colony on June 1, 1734.<sup>37</sup> The remainder came by a ship they "freighted" themselves and were hardly off the vessel in August 1734 before they were unhappy. They found fault with their land grants and a number of things affecting their dreamed-of prosperity. This is, perhaps, more than anything a commentary, even an indictment of them as human beings, for while the romance of the colony was capturing the imaginations of readers of Scottish and English periodicals and spurring them to emigrate, the colonists themselves could hardly have shared the feeling in those early months; they were fighting for survival. An item in the June 1733 Gentleman's Magazine reports that the people in Georgia were all in good health and "in perfect amity" with the Indians.<sup>38</sup> The latter part of the statement is true, but the former is decidedly false. The earliest colonists had a high mortality rate, dying "like flies" as did the British regulars at Fort King George. There are a few odd scraps of information on eighty of the first ninety-one emigrants. Of these, in addition to the first two deaths at sea, twenty-seven are known to have died within the first twelve months of their landing at Savannah Bluff; two had returned to England; one had gone to South Carolina, and two had been expelled from the colony for offences.<sup>39</sup> Thus, nearly thirty-five percent of those who landed in February 1733 are known to be dead or otherwise absent by the end of the first year. To be sure, the heat of the summer with its attendant pestilences had not emerged when the above

mentioned item of news left the New World. The trans-Atlantic crossing normally took six to eight weeks, which would have meant that the correspondence left Carolina or Georgia in March. The earliest specific date of death given is April 6, 1733,<sup>40</sup> although an 11-year-old boy died "soon."<sup>41</sup> It is significant to note that eighteen of the twenty-seven died in June, July, August and September, when mosquitoes and other disease-carrying insects abound, and the heat, particularly in July and August, is frequently well over ninety degrees Fahrenheit with correspondingly high humidity. The initial year may be regarded as a "seasoning" year; the next two years had appreciably lower death rates. In the year ending February 1735, the second year, only six of the original party died; five of them expired in the following twelve months.<sup>42</sup> Tragically, Cox, who was the first to die, was the only physician, and apart from what the Welsh carpenter Noble Jones learned from Cox's books and a midwife, there was no skilled medical care until Dr. Samuel Nunez arrived with the other Sephardic Jews.

But this aspect of the colony never reached the homeland and the colonists continued to come. As the Christmas season approached in 1733, The Eccho, publishing "advices by Tuesday's Post. London, Dec. 6," printed this news: "Seventy persons were to embark at Leith for Georgia, to raise hemp and other merchandise there on lands granted them by the Trustees.

"We have received and account of the Death of Dr. Houstoun, who was sent to America to collect plants for that colony, in August last in Jamaica."<sup>43</sup> It seems uncommonly strange that an Edinburgh newspaper would get its news of Leith, less than two miles from its own High Street, from London. One infers that it was





gleaned from some such place as Manwarring's Coffee-house or one of the other gossip centres near the Palace Yard, Westminster, which attracted the custom of the Trustees and their friends. Perhaps it was generated by stories surrounding the several land grants given to Scots in the closing months of the year. Whatever the reason, the embarkation does not seem to have taken place, for there is no indication in Georgia records that a party of Scots landed in early 1734, which is when they should have arrived if they left in late November or early December.

Although Andrew Grant and William Stirling arrived in June 1734 and while it is recorded that the Mackay brothers, Patrick, William and John, and their servants were in the colony in early 1734,<sup>44</sup> there was no clearly identifiable Scottish community in Georgia before August.

Early that year, plans were under way for the trip from Scotland to be made by the Houstouns, Tailfer and the others, and there was a host of matters to be attended to. An interesting advertisement appeared in the pages of the Edinburgh Courant during the closing days of January.

The creditors of Joseph Wardrope are desired to meet upon Friday the 1st next at 5 o'clock at night in the house of Thomas Williamson, south side of the Lawn Market, 'twixt the Head of Forrester's and Liberton's Wynd, and betwixt now and that time to lodge in the hands of Alexander Young, writer, particular notes of their respective debts, and how the same are interested which if they neglect to do they will be excluded.<sup>45</sup>

Joseph, who may have landed twenty days after the others<sup>46</sup> if Egmont's roster is correct, was the son of David Wardrope of Easter Quill and had been apprenticed as a wright to John Wardrope, a wright and burgess, on June 21, 1710 in Edinburgh.<sup>47</sup> In 1718, his name was entered in the roll of Edinburgh burgesses and



guild brethren.<sup>48</sup> On July 6, 1720, Wardrobe, who resided in Edinburgh's North Kirk Parish, married Jean Foster, daughter of Joseph Foster, a <sup>mb</sup>plumber in the Northwest Parish.<sup>49</sup> Wardrobe took his wife and daughter Eleanor with him when he went to Georgia.<sup>50</sup>

Another Edinburgh burgess, Patrick Tailfer, left his wife and children behind--in the yard at Greyfriars.<sup>51</sup> Tailfer was the son of Patrick Tailfer, a Canongate merchant who was made an Edinburgh burgess and guild brother August 15, 1660 "by reason of his wife Janet being the daughter of David Bishop, headmaster of the grammar school" in the Canongate.<sup>52</sup> The younger Tailfer, signing himself "Patricius Tailzefere," entered Edinburgh University on February 25, 1674 and paid an enrollment fee of £2.18.0.<sup>53</sup> He studied under James Pillans, a regent or professor, and was declared Master of Arts on October 17, 1677.<sup>54</sup> How and when he became a physician is not clear, but his father's will in 1717 identifies him as a doctor<sup>55</sup> and he was known as a medical practitioner in both Georgia and South Carolina although he "made no medical mark in Charlestown other than to produce in the 'Gazette' an advertisement of dubious propriety: 'Dr. Patrick Tailfer, M.D., treats all kinds of fluxes and has a method of conveying fumigation medicine to the lungs via fumigations and vapours.' Even his claim to a degree is unconfirmed."<sup>56</sup> Tailfer, usually always close to controversies with officials, is best remembered in Georgia history as a troublemaker and leading "Malcontent."

Two other members of the rather loosely-knit "Scotch Club" or "Malcontents" were the Stirling brothers, William and Hugh, who had a heritage of wealth. Their grandfather, Sir George

Stirling of Glorat in Campsie parish, Stirlingshire, was made a Nova Scotia baronet at Whitehall on April 30, 1666,<sup>57</sup> which title passed directly to Sir Mungo, his son, first,<sup>58</sup> and then to his grandson, Sir James, the eldest of three brothers. Sir Mungo married, about 1705, Barbara, eldest daughter of Hugh Corbet of Hardray and the widow of John Douglas of Mains.<sup>59</sup> James was born first, then William, and Hugh was last. James was served<sup>60</sup> heir to the title at the age of six. The Stirlings came from a family that was interested in expansion; not only had their father been interested in Nova Scotia, but their Uncle Robert was an investor in the Darien scheme in the amount of £100.0.0.<sup>61</sup>

Another member of the group like the Stirling brothers was a Glasgow merchant, had ties with the Stirling family, and a relative who invested in the Darien Company. Patrick Houstoun, son of Patrick Houstoun, a Glasgow merchant, and his spouse, Isabel Johnston, was born the couple's second son in 1698.<sup>62</sup> Although Edith Duncan Johnston in her genealogical study of the Houstouns of Georgia identifies him as the son of Sir Patrick Houstoun and \_\_\_\_\_, the testament dative of Isabel Johnston bearing date July 17, 1722, identifies her children as George, merchant in Glasgow; Patrick, comptroller of the customs at Port-glasgow, and Anna, spouse to Alexander Gourlaw of that ilk.<sup>63</sup> George is identified as "merchant in Glasgow" in his father's testament dative of April 26, 1717.<sup>64</sup> Patrick, the younger, became comptroller of the customs at Port Glasgow "by warrand" of the Lords Commissioner of the Treasury in June 1722.<sup>65</sup> He was the grandson of Sir Patrick Houstoun and Anna Hamilton, his father being their second son. One of his great-great-grandmothers was Margaret, daughter of Sir James Stirling of Keir.<sup>66</sup> Young Patrick studied humanity, viz. Latin, one year at Glasgow University as

lad of fifteen.<sup>67</sup> His father subscribed £1,000.0.0 in the Darien Company,<sup>68</sup> and his grandfather Patrick Houstoun of that Ilk "and the heirs male of his body" was made a Nova Scotia baronet at Whitehall on February 11, 1670.<sup>69</sup> Isabel Johnston's testament dative eliminates James Houstoun as a brother to Patrick, but the fact that they shared a common surname does appear to indicate kinship. James would not make much of a mark in Georgia, possibly because he died in 1737.<sup>70</sup>

Of the two remaining Scots in this group, little is known of John Baillie, other than he was an Edinburgh merchant. Andrew Grant appears to have been the second son of Patrick Grant, Lord Elchies, and the younger brother of Baron of the Exchequer John Grant.<sup>71</sup> However, the evidence available is inconclusive. It is also inconclusive just how the Glaswegians linked up with the Edinburgh faction. However, one must recall that there was a great deal of intercity commerce in the Scottish lowlands in those days. The newspapers regularly carried advertisements announcing that bleachfields for flax were available in different areas and that the flax could be left at one or more agents in other towns.<sup>72</sup> The textile industry was quite strong in Scotland at that time. There was also the gossip of the coffee-houses and inns, and certainly, items in the Edinburgh and London papers were food for the gossip mill.

But however the connection took place, by early March the Trustees were aware that a company of Scots was setting out for Georgia. On Thursday, March 7, 1734, Egmont wrote in his journal, "...This morning I went to the admiralty office and procured protections from pressing for John Smith and John Fennings' vessels, as also for a shipload of Scotch that is coming with persons who

go for Georgia."<sup>73</sup> Egmont's records indicate that there were fifty-<sup>NINE</sup>~~four~~ people in the shipload of "Scotch" which he shows arriving August 1.<sup>74</sup> The ship can be identified as the Friendship, Captain Craigie, the only vessel to arrive in Charleston harbour from London near that date.<sup>75</sup> There are two servants amongst the passengers who arrived that day who are not identified as to the holder of their indenture.<sup>76</sup>

While this party was getting ready for the long ocean voyage, Oglethorpe took a far shorter journey which, in the end, would affect another part of Scotland--the Highlands. On January 23, 1734, Oglethorpe, with Captain Will. Ferguson and sixteen others including two Indians left Savannah in a rowboat and a yawl to explore the southern frontier. They determined that, for defence purposes, it would be expedient "to form a military station and settlement near the mouth of the Altamaha, as well as to erect a strong fort on St. Simon's."<sup>77</sup> Oglethorpe, together with a party of Yamacraw Indians led by Chief Tomochichi, his wife and great-nephew Toonahowi, sailed for England on March 23, 1734,<sup>78</sup> because Oglethorpe needed money to set up and maintain these forts, and he apparently felt that the presence of the Indians might help his cause. However, in all fairness to him, it must be pointed out that the Englishman had enjoyed the friendship and generosity of the kindly old chieftain since he arrived at Savannah Bluff, and it may have been that he simply wanted to show the sights of London to the red man. For to be sure, the Georgia Indians were among the progenitors of that most curious species: the American tourist, and they did those things that attract sightseers today, visiting, among other places, the Tower of Lon-

don and Windsor Castle. During the three months that they were in England, they were "feted and lionized by the King, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Sir Hans Sloane"<sup>79</sup> not to mention the Trustees and the lads at Eton College, who were granted a holiday at Tomochichi's request. When they got sick, they were treated by no less a person than the eminent physician and friend of Oglethorpe, Sir Hans Sloane, but even his expertise was not enough to save one of the party from smallpox."<sup>80</sup>

While Oglethorpe and the Indians were having a grand old time in England, the Scots had reached Georgia and proceeded up the Ogeechee River to a site they called Stirling's Bluff. They were very shortly dissatisfied and on March 15, 1735 wrote a complaining letter to the Trustees. Andrew Grant, Patrick Tailfer, Hugh Stirling and Patrick Houstoun writing "for ourselves & co." said,

We beg leave to lay the following particulars before you. When we obtained grants from you for land in the province of Georgia, we never in the least doubted but we should have the same privileges of encouragement that the other people had. We expected as soon as we arrived here to have received provisions for our servants for twelve months time, tools for building and clearing the land, nails for our houses and other necessary iron-work, arms and ammunition &c., but contrary to our expectations we were refused everything; we hope you will consider that with a view of having those things, we laid out our money in purchasing what necessary goods we should want here; in procuring our servants, paying for their freight and our own, (which amounted to a good deal of money, for we were obliged to freight a whole ship) & that we put the Honourable the Trustees to no expence in sending us here.

The land allotted us is very remote from this place being at least seventy miles distance which obliged part of us to settle in this town, in order to supply the others who have settled upon their land with provisions and other necessaries from time to time, as well as upon the account of our own business. It was impossible for us as we laboured under such difficulties, to do, what we otherwise should have done, but however those that are settled in the country, have made at least



as great improvements as any before them especially considering the time of their settlement; they have cleared a considerable tract of land, built their houses and likewise a very strong fort which may be of great advantage to this place as well as to themselves; but is of no use without arms and ammunition, they have only two swivel guns and ten muskets, which they received from Mr. Causton to be paid for out of our goods, for being strangers in this country & not knowing where to purchase provisions and other necessities, we were obliged to apply to the store, but could not get anything from thence till we lodged the chief part of our goods there. We hope your honours will take those things into consideration & grant us the same advantages as others. We likewise hope you'll allow us the remaining part of our land, next to the town of any not yet taken up....

P.S. We had almost forgot to mention one thing which is likewise a great incumbrance upon those who are settled at Okeechy, that the Indians passing backwards and forwards commonly demand provisions, & frequently stay there eight or ten days: & being always allowed them at Thunderbolt & Fort Argyle, they imagine it to be the same here & would take it very ill if they were refused.<sup>82</sup>

Dr. Tailfer, not content with the collective effort, lodged his own independent grievances the same day:

Having obtained a grant from you for five hundred acres of land in the province of Georgia, I came here chiefly with a design to settle upon it; but having had the misfortune of losing nine of my servants a few days before we embarked and four more at Portsmouth (where we were obliged to lay our ship aground in order to refit her being pretty much damaged by an unlucky accident which happened there) I am rendered incapable to pursue that design until I get more servants over having only three men a boy & a woman servant left; upon which account I have rented a house in this town & practice my business here as physician and surgeon; However I should have employed my servants in clearing & cultivating my land, if I could have got it at any reasonable distance from this town. but the land assigned to us lying on the south side of the Okeechy River thirty miles from the mouth of the river and about seventy from this place, being so remote, it would have been needless for me to anything to the purpose with three men; indeed some of our company who had a sufficient number of servants have settled there and made great improvements having built a very strong fort as well as cleared a considerable space of land.

As I am now in a manner settled in this town, (which I would fain flatter myself maybe of some ad-



vantage to the place, there being no other here regularly bred to physick or chirurgy I beg you would be so good as to allow me my land as near the town as possible in any vacant place, for I expect servants over very soon which will enable me to settle & clear it. I likewise beg you would grant me a lease of one of your own lots, upon the same condition as you do to others, & if you think proper to do it, I shall build a good<sup>83</sup> house & make what other improvements are necessary.

Despite these complaints, the news from the time of the first colonists was that the colony and its inhabitants were doing just fine. The Eccho printed on April 10, "The affair of settling the colony of Georgia goes on with such success under the direction of the Trustees and Mr. Oglethorpe that People contribute cheerfully and liberally to that good work."<sup>84</sup> Later, in early July, the Caledonian Mercury received this information in Wye's letter of June 27, which was about the same time that the above letters should have been reaching London. "A Gentleman newly arrived from Georgia gives the following more particular account of the state of that colony than has yet been mentioned."<sup>85</sup> His account advised

That the people settled there is about 500, who have already cleared from 2 to 4 acres of land each, and planted them with corn, potatoes, pease, beans, yams, cabbages &c. That 60 houses are completely finished with a church for divine worship: That the people are all of the established religion, except a few Jews who came thither by certificates, none without being strictly examined. That there is a fine harbour 16 foot deep, and a fort for securing it and the town landward also (has) a magazine well-stored with arms and ammunition,

That they have plenty of horses, cattle, Hogs, Fish, Poultry, and wild turkeys from 20 to 30 pounds weight each: that a guard is set every night by turns, in which Mr. Oglethorpe took his turn regularly as an example to the rest, to prevent murmuring: and that gentleman at times condescended even to work at the hardest labour himself, to encourage industry.

That shops are already set up in the New Town for

selling such necessities as are wanting; and a stage and post is settled to Charlestown, for conveyances of parcels and letters at a small expence.

That two justices of the peace, a surveyor general, constables and tithing men are appointed and all causes are determined in a very summary way, in the manner of the court of conscience in London, records kept of them: and 'tis remarked that there's not a lawyer amongst them.

The gentleman who gives this relation, and who has travelled through Italy, remarks further that the climate and soil is equal in Goodness to the best part of the country; and that it was a sad parting, all being full of grief, when Mr. O. took leave of his people.<sup>86</sup>

The concept of the tithing and its officer, the tithing man, is not a common one in American colonial history. Doubtlessly ecclesiastical in origin, it refers, in Georgia history, to a quasi-legal stewardship held without remuneration by a reputable male resident of the community. His function was to be aware of the needs, interests and activities of ten families under his care and to report the same, where indicated, to colony officials. The remainder of 1734 was not particularly eventful for the colony, events were largely the same as they had been. On October 26, the Trustees "resolved that Alexander Ross, Thomas Baillie and Daniel Stewart have each of them a lot in the town of Savannah."<sup>87</sup> Stewart seems never to have taken up his grant. Baillie, who was a gentleman from Orkney, had lot 206,<sup>88</sup> and Ross, who had a brother living in Edinburgh in 1737, settled on lot 220.<sup>89</sup> Earlier on October 9, "a proposal was made for the passage of Mr. Makilvey to be defrayed back to Georgia which was not granted."<sup>90</sup>

One week later on the 16th, Captain George Dunbar of Inverness-shire, master of the Prince of Wales produced a letter from Oglethorpe recommending him for a land grant.<sup>91</sup> Dunbar was presumably the son of James Dunbar, merchant of Inverness, and

Janet Dunbar, his spouse.<sup>92</sup> One James Dunbar of Dalcross, "late baillie of Inverness," invested £180.0.0 in the Darien Company.<sup>93</sup> Captain Dunbar was given 500 acres of land in September 1735 which he later took up on the Savannah River at the Scottish settlement of Joseph's Town.<sup>94</sup> He was "desired to visit the southward settlements"<sup>95</sup> and on September 28, Benjamyn Martyn, the Trustees' secretary or chief administrative officer in London, wrote Thomas Causton, first bailiff and keeper of the public stores in Savannah, that Dunbar was to be issued a warrant by the magistrates for the trip south so that he could "secure any idle vagrant people or any persons whatsoever who have entered on the lands of Georgia without authority of the Trustees and bring them to Savannah."<sup>96</sup>

In October, Dunbar took Tomochichi and his party, Ross, Baillie, a large band of Salzburger, who went "on the charity" to settle at Ebenezer, and quite possibly his sister, Priscilla<sup>97</sup> Dunbar. Oglethorpe did not escort his Indian guests home, but stayed on in England another year in order to raise funds for the defence of Georgia. On March 18, 1735, resolutions providing funds for both the Royal African Company and Georgia were laid on the clerk's desk in the House of Commons.<sup>98</sup> Oglethorpe, a shareholder in the Royal African Company,<sup>99</sup> was certainly keenly interested in both bills; however, he may have been a little more interested in the one that read "Resolved that it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum not exceeding twenty-six thousand pounds, be granted to his Majesty, towards settling and securing the colony of Georgia in America."<sup>100</sup> The Commons approved the bill on April 30;<sup>101</sup> it was read in the House of Lords the next day and passed on May 3.<sup>102</sup> "The royal assent was given

May 15." 103

The same day the bill passed the House of Lords, Dunbar was back in London, having deposited the Indians and Salzburger in Georgia and made the assigned trip south. He brought news of the colony "from Georgia the 3rd of May...we are told that the new town of Savannah, the church and forts are almost finished, large tracts of land cleared, and that they were beginning to raise silk, potashes, pitch, tar, rice &c. That the Indian chiefs were very friendly and they had hopes of a considerable trade with them."<sup>104</sup>

Earlier, as Parliament considered whether or not to give the colony the £26,000, the Caledonian Mercury reported in Wye's letter of March 11,

Letters from Savannah of the 28th of December give the following account of the state of that colony, viz. That the number of English settled there is upwards of 1200; that about 120 houses of the new town are completed with a well to each, well planted with potatoes, yams, &c. which grow to admiration, as indeed does everything that is sown: that since the lands about said towns are cleared, and the sun has its influence, the place is very healthful; and in the river a ship of 250 tons will lie at low water; So that great hopes are conceived of settling in time (of) a flourishing beneficial trade....a supply of £10,000 more is expected to be granted by the Parliament for Georgia.<sup>105</sup>

Although the number of colonists was perhaps somewhere between the 500 the Mercury reported in July 1734 and the above mentioned 1,200, a review of men under arms at Savannah was a virtual United Nations assembly, according to an eyewitness account by Samuel Everleigh, a Charleston merchant, who wrote Oglethorpe of the muster of May 28. There had been about 120 men plus officers at the drill, and he understood that the colony could turn out an effective force of about 250. Many had seen duty in the English, French, Dutch or German service. "I found there men of

almost all European nations as English, French, Dutch, High German, Prussian, Russian, Switzers, Savoyards & Italians."<sup>106</sup> Several were interested in raising silk "perticularly Monsr. Albergoti, by birth an Italian."<sup>107</sup> Everleigh does not mention any Scots.

There is, however, evidence of continuing interest in Scotland in the colony. On June 30, the Mercury carried this advertisement:

For South Carolina or Georgia. The Ainslie snow of Leith, John Hay, master, burden about 100 tons well accommodated for goods and passengers, will sail directly from the port of Leith, with all speed, for South Carolina and Georgia. Any who incline to enlist themselves as volunteers, and embrace the opportunity of going to that most desirable country, shall meet with all suitable encouragement at the shop of Baillie Charles Crockat in Edinburgh or with the master of the ship at his house in Leith."<sup>108</sup>

The Ainslie had come into Leith in very late May or very early June from Rotterdam, which was where Von Reck had stationed the Salzburgers until he could get things worked out in England.<sup>109</sup> Captain Hay and the Ainslie sailed "with servants for Georgia" on August 25 from Leith.<sup>110</sup> Neither Egmont nor the Trustees list an identifiable Scottish colony which would have arrived in the last quarter of 1735. Nonetheless, it must be noted that Egmont's roster of emigrants lists more than sixty persons with Scottish surnames and no date of arrival for the ten year period that it more or less covers. It seems strange that if there were such a colony they would have been overlooked and one surmises that it is quite possible the colonists stayed in Carolina which was further advanced and more removed from the Spaniards than Georgia.

During the month of July, the Trustees were busy putting together instructions for the colonizing of the frontier with

the parliamentary grant. Lieutenant Hugh Mackay of Westminster, Middlesex, in His Majesty's service, <sup>111</sup> was selected by Oglethorpe to go into the Scottish Highlands and to recruit colonists to man the new fort. On the 16th of July 1735, he was given a credit of £80.0.0 "for the charge of raising, marching, and maintaining one hundred men till put on board the ship that is to carry them to Georgia."<sup>112</sup> At the same time, Martyn gave him, in writing, lengthy and precise instructions regarding various aspects of his assignment:

Instructions for Lieutenant Hugh Mackay.

You are impowered to agree with and bring together one hundred and ten freemen and servants; to which fifty women and children are allowed.

You are to bring them down to Crommarty where a ship will be prepared to take them on board for Georgia.

Who are to be provided for the following manner, vizt. In every week four beef days, one pork day, and two burgou days: and their allowance served out as follows. That is to say

On the four beef days, 4 pounds of beef for every mess of five heads and 2 pounds &  $\frac{1}{2}$  of flour, &  $\frac{1}{2}$  a pound of suet or plumbs.

On the pork day. 5 pounds of pork and 2 pints &  $\frac{1}{2}$  of pease for every 5 heads.

And on the two burgou days. 5 pints of pease or oatmeal gritts,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a pound and a pound of cheese for every 5 heads.

The whole at sixteen ounces to the pound.

And allow each head seven pounds of bread of fourteen ounces to the pound by the week. And three pints of beer and two quarts of water (whereof one of the quarts for drinking and the other two for boiling victuals) each head by the day after, during their passage.

The heads to be accounted in this manner. Every person above the age of twelve to be accounted a whole head...seven (to) twelve years...two for one; two (to) seven...three for one; and any person under the age of two years is not to be accounted. And who are to be



maintained in Georgia for a year after their arrival in the following manner, vizt. with 12 bushels of Indian corn at 56 pounds to the bushel. 100 pounds of meat, 30 pounds of butter,  $\frac{1}{4}$  cwt. of cheese and a bushel of salt to each head. And a cow and calf and sow to five heads, to be delivered in such proportions, and at such times as the Trust shall think proper.

Each freeman will have for his use in Georgia a firelock, a broadsword and an axe.

And for the use of every five men there, a brass kettle, a shovel and a pick axe will be provided. And the better sort of freemen will be provided with targets. The freemen must be of gentlemen's families and of good reputations, and industrious, laborious and brave; speaking the Highland language.

And to each freeman fifty acres of land will be granted in Tail Male and descend to the Heirs of his body forever; and in case of failure of Heirs Male, revert to the Trust, to be granted again to such persons as the Common Council of the Trustees shall think most for the advantage of the colony. And they will have special regard to the daughters of the freeholders, who have made improvements on their lots, not already provided for, by having married or marrying persons in possession or intitled to lands in the province of Georgia in possession or remainder.

All lots are to be preserved separate and undivided and cannot be united. In order to keep up a number of men equal to the number of the lots; for the defence and support of the colony.

No person can lease out his house or lot to another without license for that purpose. That the colony may not be ruined, by absentees receiving and spending their rents elsewhere. Therefore each man must cultivate the same by himself or servants.

And no person can alienate his land or any part or any term estate or interest therein, to any other person or persons without special license for that purpose, to prevent the uniting or dividing the lots.

If any of the land granted shall not be cultivated, planted, cleaned, improved or fenced round with a worm fence or payles 6 feet high during the space of ten years from the date of the grant. Then every part thereof not cultivated, planted, cleared, improved or fenced as aforesaid shall belong to the Trust, and the Grant as to such part shall be void.

There is reserved for the support of the colony a rent charge for ever of two shillings sterling money for

each fifty acres. The payments of which is not to commence until ten years after the grant.

And the reversion or remainder expectant on the demise of such person without issue male shall remain to the Trust.

But the wives of the freeholders in case they should survive their husbands, are during their lives, intitled to the mansion house and one half of the lands improved by their husbands; That is to say inclosed with a fence of 6 feet high.

Negroes and rum are prohibited to be used in the said colony, and trade with the Indians unless licensed. To each man servant and the heirs male of his body forever, after the expiration of his service; upon a certificate from his master for having served well, will be granted twenty acres of land under such circumstances, rents and agreements, as shall have been then last granted to any other men servants in like circumstance.<sup>113</sup>

Further instructions to Mackay and Captain Dunbar were issued eight days later:

Private Instructions to Lieutenant Hugh Mackay & Mr. George Dunbar.

Mr. Dunbar on his arrival at Inverness is to correspond with Lieutenant Mackay on all occasions.

Out of the 110 men there is to be 10 servants distributed for encouragements for raising the men if occasion shall so require 4 of which 10 are to be for the use of Lieut. Hugh Mackay and to be provided for at the charge of the Trust as the others are, and the other 6 are to be allotted to persons according to the recommendations of the said Lieut. Hugh Mackay and Mr. George Dunbar in proportion to the numbers that each shall get.

They are to be allowed for the charges of raising marching & maintaining till put on board a sum not exceeding 20 s. sterling (per) head for 100 men.

You are to get thirty targets at a sum not exceeding ten shillings each.<sup>114</sup>

The same day, July 24, 1735, Mackay was granted 500 acres of land.<sup>115</sup> Earlier, on July 16, 500 acres had been granted to Hugh Bailey, collector of customs at Orkney,<sup>116</sup> who seems not to have taken up his grant. Mackay was already in the Highlands when his grant was approved and his orders issued. Harmon Veres<sup>1st</sup>,

treasurer and accountant for the Trustees, wrote the lieutenant at Inverness on July 12 sending a letter of credit to Messrs. Hos-sack and Company at Inverness from Joseph Peckny, their London agent, for £50.0.0 sterling which Oglethorpe had directed to be sent. Mackay was to draw a bill on the Trustees and to inform them of the same. "P.S. Sent form for indenture of servant for not less than five years."<sup>117</sup>

Verelst wrote Mackay again one week later at Dornoch in Sutherland via "the Edinburgh Bag" referring to the indenture form he had sent the previous week. He directed that all servants aged 19 and above "are to be bound for five years;" those under 19 years "are to be bound till the age of twenty four." He added that Dunbar had written that he would be responsible for getting forty men "with the proportion to that number:" Mackay was to get seventy men "with the like proportions."<sup>118</sup> On the 26th, Verelst sent Mackay's land grant to him at Dornoch and a note that he had paid £1.10.0 and £0.10.5 for registering a memorial of it with the auditor of plantations.<sup>119</sup> This sum had been charged to Mackay's account with the Trustees, he was informed.

Mackay, meanwhile, was having his problems in recruiting, but he was having some encouragement, too. He was encountering opposition from lairds reluctant to lose their workers and the animosity created by idle rumours of indentured servants having been shanghaied to Jamaica. He wrote Oglethorpe about his progress from Dornoch on the 24th of July.

I wrote to you the 19th instant from Inverness since which time I waited upon my Lord Cromerty, Capt. Monro, Sr. Robert Monro's brother and some other gentleman of the shire of Ross, who seem very hearty in the affair I am employed in. I have been in this shire of Sutherland two days waiting of my Lord Sutherland and some other

gentlemen who seem not so very favourable for fear of losing those poor creatures, who they look on to be their property as much as their cattle; I have not yet got among my own tribe. Upon the whole by what I can learn hitherto I dare not advise you for anything I can promise to perform to send so large a ship as that in which Captain Dunbar came from Georgia. Wrong notions have formerly been given to the people of the nature of the settlement that is more advantageous than it appears to them by my instructions. The clamour is however upon so weak a foundation; that it is my private opinion though I cannot undertake for it that the number wanted at this time will be had, though not so soon as could be wished clear of a tempestuous sea, once winter approaches.

A damnable practice has prevailed and been carried on for some time past and used at this very time, viz., to bind servants by their indenture for Georgia and ship them off to Jamaica. This practice which I am credibly informed is carried on in most of the seaports of Scotland frightens the vulgar from treating with or coming near any person that design to carry them to a better place. I seem still to be very indifferent whether any go or not (;) force, or even art to persuade them must be the last shift. My reasons with them and theirs with me would be troublesome, and on their sides are really trifling, I have ordered some targets to be made with plates of copper which my Lord Sutherland made a present to me. All his targets were given up to the government in 1716. A few more I have got, I have likewise ordered the stone mills....P.S. The fifty pd. credit is to come to hand which I shall not make use of till necessary.<sup>120</sup>

Some five weeks later Mackay, had gone from the Dornoch Firth north to the tiny seacoast village of Kirtomie in Sutherland by way of Lord Reay's estate in Caithness. He wrote from there on September 1.

I wrote to you from Thurso by last post and by the former post from Inverness. I have since been in the most inaccessible parts of my Lord Reay's estate and am on my way to Lord Sutherland's house. I have now the pleasure to tell you that notwithstanding the strongest opposition, and that carried on in the vilest manner that is by underhand agents instilling terrible apprehensions in the people's minds: I have good opinion of the project and were it not want of specie in the country many would embrace this opportunity but I dare promise that were this convoy safely arrived and accounts transmitted here of their being happily settled, the Trust may annually have what numbers they please from the Northern Highlands. I cannot say that the present



convoy will be such as I would choose had I the refusal of many. Yet all of them will be useful hands and many of them active fellows and old soldiers. I have by this last round fixed fourteen free men, I (expect) three or four more, three servants I have, twenty more are promised to me by my friends; besides I have several agents at work. My present computation is 37 on the public account including Mr. Baillie's, Mr. Mackay in Georgia and Mr. Mackay of Strathly whom I mentioned in my last so that if Mr. Dunbar's 40 answers you may safely venture to order the ship about. At my first coming, there was such a clamour raised against the business I had to transact that I was glad to promise any gentleman that would carry servants at their own charge passage in this ship. Had my affair lain in towns or cities the work would have been easy, but I had three counties to travel through where in such towns as are in them, I have not got around, I got within what dispensed houses here and there, bad roads to struggle with, the art of landlords, and the worst of all the ignorance of the people. I own I have been very much obliged to the clergy particularly by the gentleman whose letters I sent you from Inverness. His friendship proceeded from a principle of humanity and Christian charity; shocked to see his fellow creatures in utmost slavery and endeavoured to be continued so by their master by false aspersions against the scheme for selling the colony. He did his utmost to open their eyes; his endeavours had the greater effect that he is a man of singular piety and disinterestedness. There is one Mr. Anderson, a young clergyman, to whom the agent for the society at Edinburgh has written to go to Georgia, but the man not knowing the terms, did not, by his answer engage to go, so I beg, that if the place is not already supplied he may be the man; he is a native here and a man of good character.

Among the rest of the stories they made up to terrify the people, they give out that men are yoked four to a plough and so serve in place of horses. I see an advertisement in the Edinburgh prints, put in by some honest person telling that so many people are going from the Highlands to be settled in a new part of Georgia against the French and Spaniards. Having tired you with a long scrawl, I beg leave to conclude by subscribing myself, <sup>121</sup>

Mackay's item in "the Edinburgh prints" may not have been a paid advertisement, for the following paragraph in the Caledonian Mercury of August 18, 1735 seems to meet the description the recruiter wrote about.

We learn from London that the Trustees for the col-

ony of Georgia have projected a settlement of Highlanders from this country, and have actually sent round for Inverness and Cromerty, a ship commanded by Capt. Dunbar to take in 160 men, women and children, who are to be settled on the far boundary of the River Altamaha who will be a gallant barrier in case of a war with France or Spain. And Mr Oglethorpe with the other Trustees, are applying to the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, to send a minister along with them who speaks Irish, with the proper encouragement. And we are assured the Society here (are) so well satisfied with the project that they have amply instructed their committee of directors to close in on it.<sup>122</sup>

In London, the Trustees and Verelst were busy with their own contributions to the venture. On July 30, the Trustees petitioned "the Queen's most excellent Majesty" for ordnance weapons, claiming that the "well fortifying" of Georgia was of great importance to other royal possessions in the same region. They wrote that they were "now preparing to make a new settlement...which will stand in great need of defence." They asked for an assortment of arms and ammunition: "24 pieces of cannon from six pounds to eighteen pounds with iron'd carriages and shott & iron for 24 spare carriages. 4 small long field pieces with carriages. 8 co-horns and granadoes 500 small arms & shott; cartouch boxes & moulous & flints. 2 flaggs & 2 pendants. 50 barrels of powder, 2 flaggs & 2 pendants. 50 barrels of powder, sponges, ladles, rammer, crows &C."<sup>123</sup>

On the 22nd of August, Verelst wrote two letters; one was to Causton in Georgia telling him how to deal with leftover food-stuffs and obstacles to the Highlanders' settling in.<sup>124</sup> The other was to John Hossack requesting that he go aboard ship and count the passengers.<sup>125</sup> There was a ton of grits, which is coarsely ground grain, on board the Prince of Wales, Verelst wrote to Causton, to be used instead of so much Indian corn. Any part



of the meat left over was to be used as a part of the colonists' meat allowance for the first year and was to be delivered to Dunbar.<sup>126</sup>

You must strive to obtain the Indians' consent for the Scotch settling at Barnwell's Bluff and for that purpose you are to make them such presents as shall be necessary and to get some of them to go and hunt for them and show them the country & be sure to satisfy the Indians upon this occasion.

If any persons should busy themselves in spreading any scandalous reports & rumours to hinder the settling (of) the Highlanders you are to commit them for the same until such time as tryal can be had and prosecute them to the utmost severity of the law & thereby prevent them from having access to the new people and from doing any further mischief.<sup>127</sup>

The next day Verelst sent Mackay a letter which was "to be left at the post house at Inverness" informing him that his land grant and sealed instructions had earlier been sent and Dunbar was leaving that day for Scotland.<sup>128</sup> Verelst was sympathetic with the problems of recruiting and regretted that Mackay was finding "such deadness in raising the men as not to be able to get more than forty but hope Capt. Dunbar will compleat the number."<sup>129</sup> While the Trustees had taken measures to help Dunbar in this pursuit since Mackay's last letter, they wanted him to continue his effort "in your parts of the country" and to meet with Dunbar to combine their work. He agreed that Mackay had been right in not meddling with the £50 credit until he knew the ship would come; a new credit for £9.10.0 was enclosed--a total now of £59.10.0 for "targets, mills and charges." The targets and mills had been figured at £19.10.0 leaving £40.0.0 for Mackay's other charges. This, however, was only an estimate, and the recruiter could settled with Oglethorpe in Georgia."<sup>130</sup>

Verelst, apparently a man with a love for painstaking care

and detail, wrote Dunbar the same day with lengthy instructions for carrying out his assigned task;

Instructions...for Captain George Dunbar in his voyage to Scotland and Georgia.

You are to take in at Tilbury Fort<sup>131</sup> four cases of arms marked G & CS No. 21 to 24 containing one hundred, all in lift cases. They are to be there on Friday the 22nd of August 1735.

When the ship sails from Gravesend you are to send advice thereof to the Trust.

You are to call in at Leith Road to give the proper notice to the people of Edinburgh of your arrival, and then to proceed with the utmost diligence to Cromarty or Inverness.

You are to take in one hundred and thirty heads of passengers at Cromarty or Inverness as soon as you can get them.

You are to give Lieutenant Hugh Mackay notice of your arrival, and to take in the men with the women that he shall bring down; and to mak up the above mentioned number in such manner as you are directed by your other instructions.

In case that all the people that Lieutenant Hugh Mackay and yourself can get will not complete your number you are to sail for Georgia with those that you have before the season of the year makes the Scotch seas dangerous.

You are to desire Mr. John Hossack one of the bailiffs of Inverness to come on board the ship; and in the cabbin to have each single man or family brought before him; and you are to cause the name of each to be entered in a list of the whole. Single men distinct and family's distinct; with the ages of each and numbers of persons in each family; the heads of freight that each family makes; business each man professes, and where he was born

And each person under the age of two years is not to be computed for freight, but only numbered in the persons.

Which list you are to desire Mr. John Hossack to sign and testify that the ages and number are truly entered according to examination before him and that they are all on board, which you are to send by the

Post to the Trustees, keeping a copy for yourself.<sup>132</sup>

He was to let the Trustees know when the passengers came aboard "at which time the extraordinary charge ceases. The bedding canvas and blanketing on board" was for those without any, and Dunbar was to be accountable for the delivery of the remainder in Georgia. He was allowed twenty-five pounds of gunpowder for the passengers' use and fifty pounds of bullets "for shooting at marks." The health of the Scots did not escape the concern of the Trustees.

Everyday that the weather permits you are to order the passengers up upon deck and cause them to clean their cabins for the preservation of their health and for that purpose the vinegar on board is for the sprinkling between decks.

And the box of medicines and 2 stone bottles of threacle are for use in the voyage...You are to get 200 yards of bright coloured plads at Scotland from 12d to 20 d. a yard for the use of James Oglethorpe, Esq.

When in Scotland, you are to inquire in what manner a trade for servants from the East Country to Georgia may be carried on; and at what price they can be delivered to Georgia.<sup>133</sup>

He was directed to deliver a letter from the Trust to the SSPCK secretary and discover when and where he could take the minister on board. "You are to take the minister on board accordingly and to treat him in the best manner as the nature of the voyage will allow, and assist him in making the people (act) in a sober and religious manner."<sup>134</sup> If as the Prince of Wales arrived in waters near Georgia, it was met by Captain James Gascoigne in the Hawk man-of-war, any orders that Gascoigne had were to be obeyed; if Dunbar did not encounter the Hawk, he was to enter the Savannah and get a message of the arrival to Causton who would help with "pettiaguas"<sup>135</sup> and other crafts." Dunbar

Dunbar was to take a party of men of the number Hugh Mackay thought necessary and send them with Mackay to Barnwell's Bluff on the Altamaha to "make preparations for the remainder of the familys."<sup>136</sup> Half of the men were to be Mackay's; the other half to be men raised by John Cuthbert, one of the Inverness emigrants. However, if Dunbar tried and found the ship could go up the Altamaha and there was not other craft sufficient to the task, then he could take the Prince of Wales up the river. If Oglethorpe was not there, Dunbar was to deliver Hugh Mackay "four pieces of Cannon for the new settlement" and get a receipt. Additionally, he was to deliver all the goods aboard the ship on Trust accounts to Lieutenant Mackay and get a receipt.<sup>137</sup>

The letter about the minister, which Verelst mentioned, went to Nicholas Spence, secretary to the SSPCK in the Highlands of Scotland. It acknowledged receipt of Spence's letter of August 11th to Adam Anderson, which had been read by the Trustees and with which they were very pleased. "They cannot but feel themselves greatly concerned for the welfare of the people who go to Georgia, & think it would be a deplorable conditcion for such a number of poor people to be without any help, they not speaking the English language."<sup>138</sup> Verelst explained that the Trustees did not know anything about the lives and character "of any minister who speak the Irish language"<sup>139</sup> and would appreciate it if the SSPCK "would recommend a godly minister of the gospel of an exemplary life and one as may be acceptable to the people of the embarkation for Georgia." They did not feel a need to set any qualifications for "so good judges of the virtues requisite for a minister of the gospel and more especially for one who is to go into a

country where his example may be useful to the heathen." They promised the minister a licence to officiate in religious matters "in the same manner as they do all other ministers sent to Georgia" and that he would be granted 300 acres of land.<sup>140</sup> It is interesting to note that the minister's name, the Reverend John Macleod,<sup>141</sup> appears in that portion of Egmont's roster which indicates that he did not go "on the charity" in contrast to the Church of England ministers and Spangenberg, the Moravian preacher.

On September 3, the Trustees passed several land grants to Scots. Archibald Macgillivray, a trader in the Creek nation in America, received fifty acres,<sup>142</sup> and John Mackay of Sutherland, Gentleman, 500 acres.<sup>143</sup> Three of these several grants are somewhat rare in that they provide a line of succession other than direct male issue of the original grantee. Particularly significant is the grant of Patrick Mackay of Cydor Hall, Sutherland, Esqr., whose 500 acres were to go to his daughter Catherine if he died without sons.<sup>144</sup> There are notably few instances in the early years of the colony where women are allowed to own land or be named as heirs to land.<sup>145</sup> The other grants made that day were three of 500 acres each; one was to George Dunbar, "gentleman of Inverness county," whose heir should he die without male issue, was to be his brother William Dunbar and William's heirs male.<sup>146</sup> Another was to Thomas Baillie "of Orkney, gentleman," apparently the same one who was given a lot in 1734, with heirs other than his own male issue to be, first, his brother Alexander and his sons, and second, his brother Robert and his heirs male.<sup>147</sup> The third was to John Cuthbert of "Drackies, Gent., Inverness"



whose heir was to be his brother James Cuthbert, an Inverness merchant.<sup>148</sup> A month earlier, the Trustees had appointed a Scot to public office in the colony when on August 4, Hugh Anderson of Bridge Castle<sup>149</sup> "Gent." was appointed "Inspector of the Public Gardens and of the Mulberry Plantations in the Province of Georgia...."<sup>150</sup> However, he would not take up his appointment for another two years. Verelst notified Dunbar of the land grants to him and the others in a letter sent to Inverness. "You are to have land for the town called Joseph's Town besides the 500 acres to each, the grant of which Mr. Oglethorpe will bring with him."<sup>151</sup>

Hugh Mackay was still trying to recruit on September 17 when he wrote Oglethorpe from Dunrobin Castle near Golspie on the south-east coast of Sutherland.

I wrote to you of the 12th instant from Invergordon. Mr. Cuthbert came not, and by his return to me I don't find any certainty as to numbers with him being obliged to meet my countrymen as mentioned in my last I could not get to Inverness at that time, but how soon Mr. Dunbar arrives I'll wait of him and concert with him what may be most to the advantage of the public service. I could have engaged six freemen when I was there in August but as there was a perquisite that they were in his district I would not meddle (I) told them he would agree with them when he came. I hope to make a half dozen by my last trip, two I have secured.

I came here last night where I met both the Lords mentioned in my last. They seem to be better reconciled to my business than formerly. I have good hopes I shall make the forty, Scourie's and Strathy's 20 makes 60 from these parts, this I acquainted them of at Inverness to fix the wavering humour of the people there, of which Mr. Cuthbert complains much.

Mr. Verelst's letter of the 30th which I received yesterday brought me credit for £60 sterling to be employed in terms of my letter to you of date 14th August; this confidence or any other you repose in me I shall never abuse, but I am afraid it's come too late. All the dealers of any substance or that I would trust are gone to England and south parts of Scotland with Black Castle; However I wrote yesterday to a man who has a son at Savannah and has one up here and (a) son



that intends to go to tell him that I would find some money if he and those that went would give me their joint security. If they don't go I shall carry the letter of credit to Georgia or send it back to the Trust before I embark. I am afraid you will be disgusted at the appearance we'll make, but believe me Sir I have done my best and I thought 'twas better to catch small fish than none...P.S. Since writing the above, I have got a promise from my Lord Reay of a parcel of targets. I know not the number. I have 18 a making. The surgeon of Col. Handasyd's regiment enticed one of my free men yesterday to list for a soldier. Tomorrow morning I am to find him out and thank him for his utility.<sup>152</sup>

By September 23, Mackay had been to Inverness, met with Dunbar and made some purchases from John Hossack. Writing the Trustees from Inverness on that date, he said

I have drawn upon you this date for nine pounds ten shillings ster. payable to the order of John Hossack & Co. which with the fifty drawn for the fourteenth of August completes the fifty nine pd. ten shills. credit ...sent me...for the targets and forty men; Mr. Dunbar and myself have settled this day as to our numbers. I undertake for sixty men of which there are twenty for private accts. and he for fifty...including ten or fourteen on Mr. Baillie's from the Orkneys. We are to embark the eighteenth Octr.<sup>153</sup>

Dunbar, however, had already written news of his arrival and of the journey to Oglethorpe. On September 20, he wrote from Inverness:

I wrote you from Scarborough both when I put <sup>in and out</sup> of that harbour to which refer. Since then I have met exceeding bad weather and on the 10th was forced out of the Firth of Forth with a violent storm and driven so far to the northward that I found I could easiest put in here which on account I might be. I put directly up to this place where I arrived the 16th and I hope will succeed to my wishes in bringing with me a parcel of the pertest fellows who ever left Scotland in one ship and I am convinced that I could get twenty for every one I can carry over. This day I have an appointment with them to seize and pitch upon the people. There are petitions from many parts of the Highlands in the name of considerable numbers and I intend to meet with some of the leading people to see what may be done another year of which I'll acquaint you. Most of my people will be to the southward of this place and I have appointed a meeting with them Friday and Saturday next when I'll be able to acquaint

you of their number particularly. I have been inquiring here about getting servants from the Baltick, but I find it's only to be done at Edinburgh where I intend to be on the 27th and there's more need of this now that I find the getting of good servants a very difficult matter. I saw a letter from Lieutenant Mackay wherein he wrote that the people of that country have taken another turn and (he) expects sixty. On my arrival here I sent him an express and expect to see him here this day or tomorrow when we'll be capable to give full satisfaction in every affair. I'll get Highland plaids, nets, etc., and obey all my instructions to the utmost of my power nor will anything or consideration move me from the general sweep of our undertaking. I had the honour to dine and be (with) my Lord Advocate where your health was not forgotten. He is always my best friend here and had taken the same concern in all my affairs as if he was my father.

P.S. The magistrates of this place have such an esteem for you that they told me to put the only mark of distinction on you in their power & what they confer on every person of distinction that comes to this place. I mean a ticket of freedom to the town.<sup>154</sup>

Mackay, his business with Dunbar completed for the time, went north and wrote Oglethorpe on the 24th from Tain near the Dornoch Firth:

I wrote to you by last post from Dunrobin and am now on my return from Inverness where I was to concert the time of our sailing with Mr. Dunbar who set out this day for Edinburgh. The embarkation is fixed for the 15th Oct. I undertake for sixty including Mr. Baillie's with their proportion of women and children. As I do not incline to have too many of them at first setting out I'll endeavour to concert the number of heads I want into men or boys at sixteen or thereabouts. The trust I believe will be gaining. Yesterday I drew upon the Trust for nine pounds ten shillings which with my draught of fourteenth August completed the £59.10 for the forty men, targets and mills; I shall have the freight of two servants to pay for--a nephew of mine that goes with me for which I shall send a bill upon my agent to the Trust, before I embark. I can't yet tell whether I shall have occasion to use any part of the sixty pound credit sent me by Mr. Verelst.

Mr. Mackay of Strathy will see you at London, if you are not sailed for America before he has got his affairs finished at Edinburgh, he wants to be informed at the fountainhead, particularly with regard to the succession which indeed is what everybody here boggles

at not so much to satisfy himself as others in that particular for he is determined to go in any event and I am fully persuaded that if the colony subsists but three years there will be more Mackays in America than in Highlands.

By a letter from Mr. Verelst to Captain Dunbar which I saw with Mr. Baillie as we were upon the road last night I find that with the land grants of Scourie, Dunbar, Mr. Cuthbert and Mr. Baillie some of their nearest relations are included in the entail. I had not so much to silence the clamours of those that oppose me, nor did Dunbar make mention of such a letter to me though he and I talked more than once upon that subject at Inverness, which I suppose proceeded from forgetfulness rather than that he grudged me your favour and the fruits of my own industry. I here name two brothers and a nephew whom I beg may be included in my grant if practical and if but one can be admitted, pray it be my brother, my nephews being young and not married. Donald Mackay of Tar, Sutherland; Samuel Mackay of the parish of St. James in Dover, Robert Mackay, Tutor of Tar. The last named is my brother and has several sons. The first is now carrying arms in Holland and will be an American if I live two years. The second is a boy of 13 years and as pretty a lad as any in England of his age....

P.S. I am in the way to the Highlands for the last time. Probably I shall not have the pleasure to write you before the people are all aboard. 155

During this period, one may assume that there was considerable interest in Inverness in that far distant place called Georgia and, as Dunbar said in his letter of the 16th, the town fathers did honour Oglethorpe. The minutes of the Inverness Town Council of September 22, 1735 record that he was made a burgess and guild brother.

That day the said magistrates and council having a particular regard for the Honourable James Oglethorpe Esqr., one of the Trustees for the colony of Georgia on account of his public spirit in promoting the settlement of that colony to the great advantage of the trade of the nation did create to receive and admit the said James Oglethorpe burgess and guild brother of the said burgh. Captain George Dunbar commander of one of the ships pertaining to be employed for the advancement of the said colonists as his proxie ordaining a Burgess act to be given the

said honourable James Ogilethorpe in token of their particular esteem for him.<sup>156</sup>

The Trustees had correspondence from both their top recruiters from Inverness on October 21. Mackay wrote, "Last Saturday the 18th instant I shipped 86 heads of men, women and children aboard the Prince of Wales, Capt. Dunbar, the particulars are herewith enclosed."<sup>157</sup> He also said that he had drawn £50 for which he was accountable. Dunbar's letter was longer:

We have on board one hundred sixty five passengers whole heads several of which pay their own passage by bills of their friends here all which I was fond of since it disburdened the Trust from charge. One muster was over last night and now our rolls are finished and (they) will be on board either this night or tomorrow morning but the ship is falling down.

You have inclosed bills for the plading and though I have no instructions for buying the other two articles I hope you'll pardon me since they are cheap and necessary where there are many Highlanders. I found the ten pounds of nets would not buy a complete set therefore ventured it wise to exceed in that. All which I hope you'll pardon since I venture to assure that I have nothing in view but to execute my instructions effectually--All the servants for whom I have not got bills their indentures are endorsed to me for the Trustees I mean blank endorsed in my hands except Donald Stuart's two which at a meeting you were so kind to promise them for him to enable him to carry on the fishing trade in Savannah River but for the repayment of said passage to continue a debtor to the Trust.

Our minister Mr. John McLeod of exceeding good character is come with respect to most of our embarkation I'll venture to say they do not leave cleverer fellows behind them. I'm obliged to send several on shore who pressed to be on board our muster day in hopes they might get over besides many of both free-men and servants who were in my offers.

Mr. Baillie who had a grant of 500 acres and was to carry over ten servants on his own account is not yet come from Orkney but as they come by sea I have put provisions on board for four of them which Capt. Mackay will be pardoned since we're sensible it might turn to his ruin if he and so many of his own were not carried over. I have demand bills ordered and send here enclosed our muster roll and accounts for the same. We'll have a marriage on board.<sup>158</sup>



The last communication Dunbar sent from the Highlands to the Trustees was written just as he prepared to go aboard and sail southward on October 22:

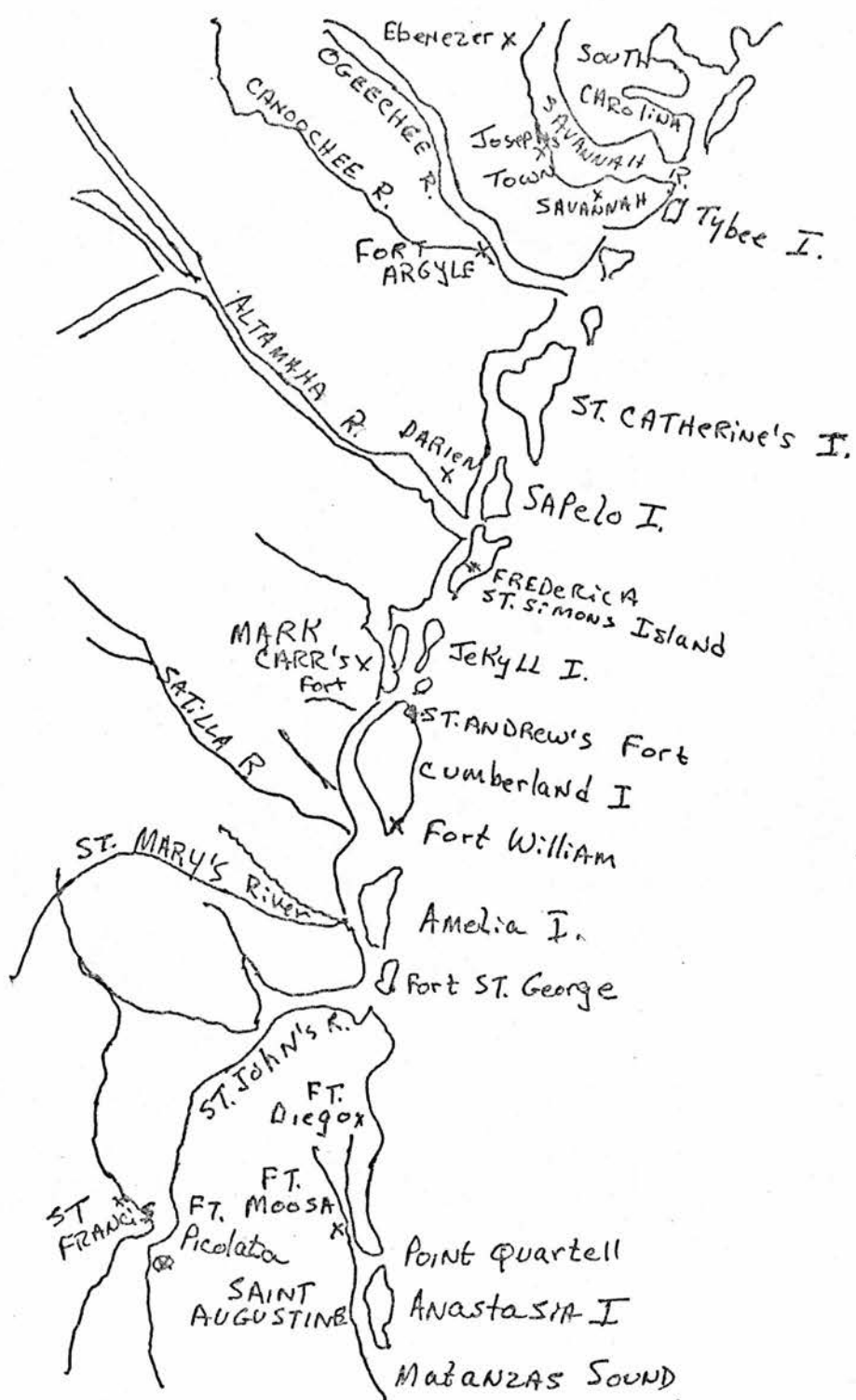
I send here a list of the Gentlemen and servants who pay for their own passaged and are indented and endorsed to the Trustees. There's a young gentleman the son of McLean of Argours who takes passage for self and servant to see our colony and his report will bring many of his clan there. The other gentlemen are from different parts of this country, most of them young lads and I hope will answer to the benefit of Georgia. Since I assure you they are all of the best families in this country and fit for any service and likewise they all expect to meet with many more hardships than they probably can in Georgia so that they all resolve to work with their own hands and will be disappointed on the safe side. I hope if I have exceeded my instructions you'll construct it favorably since I assure you the benefit of the colony not my own interest swayed me. P.S. I am just going aboard. 159

The roster does not appear in the records of the colonial office. Like several of the letters mentioned in these exchanges between London and the Highlands, they are now gone with the wind. Nonetheless, the faithful journalist Egmont noted a large part of the passenger list of the Prince of Wales with the date of embarkation and arrival--"embark'd 20 Oct. 1735; arrived 10 Jan. 1735-6"<sup>160</sup>-- for more than 100 names. He also included on some persons, ages, places and occupations. Using dates as the principal point of identification, there being no other ship to sail or arrive in proximity to Dunbar's, it was discovered that twenty-five males above the age of sixteen and one female, age twenty-five, went as Trust servants "on the charity." However, more than half are from Sutherland, and nine of that half are surnamed Mackay. One may infer, then, that this portion includes the servants allowed Dunbar and Mackay at the Trust expense. It is quite possible that a portion of these servants may have been shipped as Trust

servants, but were to<sup>be</sup> paid for by someone in Georgia. One custom, which will be seen again further on, was for the prospective emigrant to align himself with a captain or recruiter who would locate a master in the New World and collect for his passenger's fare at that time. This was the basic idea of Captain Hoseason in Kidnapped when he planned to sell young David Balfour in the Carolinas.<sup>161</sup> Hoseason, it may be recalled, wanted more than a reasonable fare for young David; most captains appear to have been somewhat less disposed to kidnapping. Generally speaking, the emigrant wanted to go abroad and had neither the means nor the knowledge to make the necessary arrangements, and frequently, literally "sold" himself to a captain who would handle all the matters. ... Egmont annotated his personnel rosters from time to time, and one time in particular that he is known to have made notes about colonists was after a census of sorts had been made on May 6, 1741.<sup>162</sup> At times, some of the data he gives suggests that he is writing of the colonist at the time he emigrated; at others, the impression is that the events and facts are contemporary with the time of the entry. For example, several of the entries cited could only have been at or after the time of the census. In addition to the obvious dates cited, John Mackay could not be "out of his time," that is, have discharged the obligations of his indenture before 1740 under the terms specified by Verelst to Mackay, the recruiter. The question about John Mackintosh being at Fort Moosa is a valid one: there were no fewer than ten John Mackintoshes in the colony and at least four of those were involved in one way or another with the military life of the colony. Two general points do emerge from those servants



who went "on the charity" from Inverness: one is that there was only one skilled man among the twenty-five, Will Mackay, a cooper; the other is that all the men should have been able to do a good day of physical labour. The oldest was forty-five, and twenty-one were under thirty-five. This was clearly a working party. The other part of the passengers, those who paid their own way or were taken by somebody, were much more of a mixed bag.



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## Chapter III

The route Dunbar chose when he left Inverness is not recorded, but common sense abetted by a cursory familiarity with high seas in the north of Scotland leads one to the opinion that the periphery of winter is a good time to stay away from the Pentland Firth. Too, it must be recalled that Dunbar himself wanted to evade the winter seas in the Inverness region. Thus, while no record exists to give his precise route, still one may assume that he retraced his northward journey calling at Edinburgh, Scarborough, a Thames River port and one or more ports on the southern coast of England before beginning the long, arduous journey to colonial America. No mention of a Thames River visit exists in the Trustees' minutes, which seems a bit odd if such a visit did occur; nonetheless, it may have been that the interest in seeing departing ships off to Georgia may have been fading in the damp, chill breezes of the Thames in early winter. Additionally, they had just seen two parties off on October 14. The Symond, Captain Joseph Cornish, and its sister ship, the London Merchant, Captain John Thomas, included a band of Moravian pacifists, a rather curious lot of clergymen headed by the Wesley brothers, John and Charles, and Oglethorpe, on their passenger lists.<sup>1</sup>

While the parties of Georgia emigrants were on the high seas, one of the earlier Scottish emigrants had fled the colony and, in a macabre manner, had etched his name in Carolina history. The mortal remains of William Douglass, servant to Patrick Tailfer, were subjected to one of the very first autopsies ever performed in South Carolina, and for some bizarre reason, the findings were published in the South Carolina Gazette. Douglass' corpse had been found just before noon on November 9 in a hut near Tailfer's

house.<sup>2</sup> "Several Marks of Violence were observed to be upon his Body which gave suspicion that he was murdered."<sup>3</sup> It was decided upon an inquest to have a surgeon examine the body and William Watkins and two other "sufficient men bred apothecaries were sent for."<sup>4</sup> The examiners found extensive damage done to the head and lower abdomen and concluded that Douglass died of those wounds. "Five or six witnesses of good credit"<sup>5</sup> swore that Douglass had visited them two days before he was found dead and had said that "his Master had given him his death's wound."<sup>6</sup> He displayed his bruised head and said that such wounds "must either cost him his life or his senses. He added that the wound on his body was much worse."<sup>7</sup> Other witnesses deposed a number of things relevant to Tailfer's cruel usage of Douglass and "that the Deceas'd had frequently shew'd them wounds given by his Master and express'd a fear that he would some time or other be the Death of him. Among these was a young woman servant to the said Tailfer who had herself been inhumanly used by him, as appeared by several marks and bruises on her face, arms and other parts of the body."<sup>8</sup> The coroner's inquest presentment named Patrick Tailfer as the culprit in young Douglass' death, and a warrant was issued for his arrest. A grand jury was impannelled and "after a long debate" returned a bill charging Tailfer with manslaughter. Tailfer petitioned for a six weeks' delay "that he might be better prepared for his defense,"<sup>9</sup> and he never seems to have been brought to trial.

Although the Prince of Wales was the last of three ships to leave Britain at about the same time, it was the first to arrive. The other two were later coming owing to the inclement weater encountered on the different route they took. The Highlanders arrived in Savannah harbour on January 10, 1736 and remained

there for a while unaware that the Symond and the London Merchant had been delayed. During this period, some Carolinians tried to discourage the Scots from going to the South, claiming that the intended settlement was "so near the Spanish Fort and Town, that the Spaniards might shoot them even at the doors of their houses."<sup>10</sup> The Highlanders refused to be rebuffed and claimed that if the Spanish did attack "they would drive them out of their fort, and so have houses ready built for them."<sup>11</sup> When Oglethorpe's ship arrived in the mouth of the Savannah on February 5, 1736, he found that some of the Scots had gone with Captain Hugh Mackay to the place called New Inverness in the district of Darien, the site of Fort King George.<sup>12</sup> Their families would come later. The Scots, perhaps encouraged by the mild temperatures and brilliant sunshine which, so often, mark Georgia's winter days, fell to work and put up a little fortification called Fort Darien and mounted four cannon there.<sup>13</sup> In a relatively short time, they had constructed a guard house, a store house, a chapel and several huts.<sup>14</sup> The naming of New Inverness is readily understandable, but one is at a loss to understand why the settlers would choose to commemorate the Panamanian tragedy which cost so much in lost lives and funds.

Oglethorpe did not head for the South at once; instead, on February 9, he headed up the Savannah to meet with the Salzburgers at Ebenezer who wanted to move their village.<sup>15</sup> He landed at Sir Francis Bathurst's place on the west bluff of the river where he encountered some of Captain Patrick Mackay's company "lately come out of the Indian country."<sup>16</sup> That very day, he fired Mackay in an action that was not without justification. In less than two years' time, the captain had managed to cause a fair amount of trouble. Oglethorpe had commissioned him a captain March 13,

1734 to command a company which was to build a fort amongst the Creeks;<sup>17</sup> before he returned to the British settlements along the coast from their territory, Mackay had managed to stir things up with the English traders, the Indians, the French, and the Spanish. Patrick had had prior experience with being involved in controversy; in fact, Egmont records, "He fled Scotland for A Felony."<sup>18</sup>

Captain Patrick Mackay was one of three brothers who came to the colony. William and John arrived, according to Egmont, on February 1, 1733.<sup>19</sup> Patrick's day of arrival is not recorded but "along with two of his brothers...Patrick emigrated to Georgia."<sup>20</sup> They were the sons of Captain Hugh Mackay of Scourie and Jane Dunbar of Siddera.<sup>21</sup> Patrick and possibly William left Scotland under unfavorable circumstances; little is known of John other than that he was dead July 25, 1736.<sup>22</sup> William, the second oldest son, like Patrick, the eldest, an university graduate, had held two apprenticeships--one to a writer in Edinburgh, the other to a merchant in Inverness by the early 1720's.<sup>23</sup> He persuaded his brother, Patrick, at home at Cyderhall, modern Sydera,<sup>24</sup> with his wife Helen Mackay of Clyne and their daughter,<sup>25</sup> to lend him 500 guineas to purchase a post at the Inverness Custom House.<sup>26</sup> William took the money, and in 1726 he made the first of several bad investments.<sup>27</sup> By 1726, Patrick had joined into partnership with William and John Duff of Cubin, trading as the shipping firm of Duff, Mackay and Company.<sup>28</sup> They dealt in the American tobacco trade and recruited servants for the colonies; quite possibly they had trade on the continent since the next oldest brother Robert was a merchant in Rotterdam.<sup>29</sup> By 1730, the business was in chaos through mismanagement and thousands of pounds were owed.<sup>30</sup>



Patrick's financial affairs paralleled those of Duff, Mackay and Company, for he was in debt on Whitsunday 1729 £1,524.2.2.<sup>31</sup> He appears to have declared bankruptcy in 1730 or sometime shortly thereafter and by the end of 1732 to have disposed his rights over Edderachallis to Lord Reay, sold Sydera to the Earl of Sutherland and fled to Georgia.<sup>32</sup> John and Patrick took up land grants at Joseph's Town;<sup>33</sup> William appears never to have taken up a land grant; instead, reverting to trading which, perhaps, he felt he knew best, he became part-owner of a sloop which traded between Charleston and the Bahama Islands in the Carribean.<sup>34</sup> Just now Oglethorpe came to take notice of Patrick Mackay is not clear; nonetheless, he did commission him.

Although Mackay was commissioned in March, it was November 10 before he and his entourage left Savannah for the Indian country.<sup>35</sup> During the intervening months, there had been a number of problems including illness that struck his company. Mackay himself contracted the same fever that had plagued his men and lay extremely ill for two weeks in September. Feeling better, he went to Beaufort on Port Royal Island, South Carolina to convalesce. The trip may have been too much for he fell ill again and lay near death for a while. His recovery was effective to the point that he could return to Savannah on October 31 and head out for the Indian country within a fortnight.<sup>36</sup> His problems were not over. His chief packhorseman John Gray said that the horses were in no condition to make the trip and predicted that some would die. His lieutenant Robert Parker was too sick to carry out his duties and resigned.<sup>37</sup> Mackay wanted James Burnside, a writing master living at Fort Argyle, although "he did not like country matters,"<sup>38</sup> for a replacement. Causton would not allow it and

and gave the post to his assistant Adrian Loyer, a Salzburger, who had come in 1733, and was "an industrious man."<sup>39</sup> Somehow, the image of two recently arrived European refugees--one escaping the shambles of his finances and the other religious persecution--going into nearly uncharted country inhabited by red men to build a fort and regulate trade presents an interesting thought. Nevertheless, Mackay and a part of his men--there were not enough horses for everyone--did leave Savannah that November day for the Uchee Town near Palachacolas Garrison up the Savannah River. They remained there until the last week in November when they moved out to go to the Coweta Town, more than 200 miles slightly southwest. The trek took about two weeks, for he and some traders whom he had summoned to join his party arrived sometime around December 15 at Coweta Town on the west bank of the Chattahoochee, where the Scot established a residence for a few months.<sup>40</sup>

By the end of the following March, Mackay had gone farther west into the region of the Okfuskee branch of the Upper Creek nation where he held a meeting with the Indians. When news of what happened reached both English traders and the French, they were upset. Diron D'Artiguette, a longtime Louisiana official,<sup>41</sup> wrote Lieutenant Governour Thomas Broughton of South Carolina complaining an "Englishman who has the inspection of the traders"<sup>42</sup> had not only asked the Indians why they had allowed the French to build Fort Toulouse, but he also told them that they should demolish it. D'Artiguette said that he learned that the "man of valour,"<sup>43</sup> as Mackay ordered himself to be called by the Indians, was acting on his own authority. He hoped that his activities amongst the French Indians would be stopped; otherwise, the French governour "would be obliged to send some troops to the Alibamous"<sup>44</sup>

to seize the troublesome persons. At the same meeting, the captain demanded the right to build a fort wherever he wanted to or else he would withdraw all traders in the Upper Creek nation. After pondering the matter for a week, the Indians gave in and, then, Mackay proposed to some of the traders that they should form a company.<sup>45</sup> He "chose out eleven men and disposed of their property as he thought fit, allowing nine of them to be upon whole shares and two to have but one share between them and discharging whom he thought fit," according to the deposition of William Williams, a trader to the Creeks and the Chickasaws.<sup>46</sup> Williams and his partner Thomas Wright were not included in the company and went to the even more remote territory of the Choctaws to trade.

With the French and English traders upset, he next took on the Spanish. In late April 1735, Governor Francisco del Moral Sanchez wrote to Governor Johnson at Charleston about receiving a written message that "two captains or traders that live among the Cowetas and Talapooches...made the Indians come, molest and kill the subjects of my sovereign though their Catholic and Britannic majesties are at peace.... I have been assured that they have sent three parties with orders to take prisoners and kill all the Spaniards they should meet or Indians that inhabit the lower part of our government, as I have also been informed by one of the chiefs of the same nation...."<sup>47</sup> The Spaniard's information was correct for the most part, for on May 13, he again wrote that the above mentioned Indians had struck Fort San Francis de Pupo the previous day and killed the master gunner of the fort, "which insult I cannot bear or excuse."<sup>48</sup> He added that the province had been peaceful until the traders started meddling

and warned that if Johnson failed to punish the offenders he would.

The English governour was not the only recipient of Moral's correspondence in these weeks. He sent Madrid a report that he had dispatched a scouting party of a lieutenant, a pilot who knew the coast, and twenty-five soldiers who discovered "twenty five leagues from this place that the English were building a brick fort of medium size, and a fortress."<sup>49</sup> It appeared that they planned to extend their frontier to a "bar called St. Simon,"<sup>50</sup> which they planned to occupy; this bar was only eighteen leagues from the Spanish at Saint Augustine. He pleaded with the King for assistance saying, "If your majesty do (sic) not augment the garrison of this place as I have requested, and take the measures...most advisable, it will become impossible...to prevent them from extending their settlements which they are now acquiring without any obstacle, as we do not have here soldiers to be able to place the necessary detachments in posts so lacking in security, both because of the natives and of the English themselves."<sup>51</sup>

The crown decreed that the Havana governour "attend to and look after the preservation of that province, and in case it is necessary that he send troops to prevent the settlements which the English are trying to make in the dominions of his majesty."<sup>52</sup> Such troops were, however, to return to Havana; "his Majesty is determined, as soon as the present situation permits, to send some contingent of soldiers."<sup>53</sup> It was further decreed that the governour of Florida was to have recourse to the governours of Havana and the viceroy of New Spain for aid "until it may be sent him from these kingdoms."<sup>54</sup>

Mackay was not concerned about Spanish reprisals; his efforts

to alienate the French and Spanish were probably deliberate, for John Cadonhead, a trader in the Lower Creek nation, swore that Mackay had shown traders summoned to Coweta Town his papers which he claimed to be commissions from Carolina and Georgia. Then, "he asked them whether in case of a rupture with France and Spain they would go to war with him. All answered that they would stand with him."<sup>55</sup>

While he may have wanted a war, he at least made some effort to soothe the traders whom he dismissed. In his letter of dismissal to Thomas Jones, he sets forth his reasoning:

I found on my arrival here the trade of this nation in very great disorder, which I imputed to the large numbers licensed to trade, and which as governed could not afford a living for some traders, which was the reason they were guilty of unfair practices. I have regulated the trade a little and reduced the numbers...You are not in the number of those continued. Therefore you are to withdraw yourself and effects from this nation.<sup>56</sup> (s) Patrick Meekey<sup>57</sup>

Whether or not a better regulation was his motive or not is doubtful, for a deposition from William McMullin says that he and William Killhown had been removed from trading with the Chickasaws because there were too many traders. However, he put John Facey and James Cozens in their places.<sup>58</sup> Not only was Mackay taking their trading privileges away from some, but he also ordered one of them to be whipped, according to William Williams. There was a dispute in May between William Edwards and "one whom Captain Mackay called his doctor," a Doctor Hirsch.<sup>59</sup> Edwards reported that Mackay had ordered him to be "stripped and tied to the maypole in the middle of the square there, and 35 hickery switches were brought to whip him."<sup>60</sup> He was spared because of the intervention of the Okfuskee mico or chieftain, One-Handed King, who said that if Mackay whipped Edwards, then he should be whipped,

too. Mackay, after some argument, cancelled the beating.<sup>61</sup> In July, he drew a bill of exchange for £100.0.0 sterling which was payable to William Mackenzie without authorization; the Trustees refused to honor it in late September.<sup>62</sup> In October, Governour Broughton wrote a long, verbose complaint about Mackay relating that he had had complaints from merchants and traders alike as well as the Spanish and French. Not only had these two governments written to complain, but they were making threats of reprisals on the British in Georgia and South Carolina. The French had ordered forty additional men to their fort at Toulouse, and the Spanish had put 300 men in their garrison at Saint Mark's, which was on the Gulf of Mexico, south of Tallahassee. From these places, both French and Spanish could "with ease make inroads not only in the new settlement at Georgia, but also in this Province."<sup>63</sup> Broughton complained that Mackay was seriously hampering the trade in the Indian territories without legal authority and added that the head bailiff at Savannah had threatened to support him against the captain.<sup>64</sup>

In response to these complaints, Benjamyn Martyn wrote to Broughton that the Trustees had examined both correspondence and depositions and felt that "it do's (sic) not appear to them that the said Patrick Mackay himself claims to have acted under any Instructions relating to trade, but what was given him...they leave the said Patrick Mackay to answer for his conduct therein to those from whom they issued."<sup>65</sup> Oglethorpe's commission and instructions "relate only to the building of a Fort in the Indian country and the command of a company in garrison there."<sup>66</sup> They directed Oglethorpe to investigate the charges, and if Mackay was guilty, "they will take care that such punishment shall be inflicted on



him, as he shall appear to deserve."<sup>67</sup> Thus it was that Oglethorpe relieved him of his command.

Having dealt with this unpleasantness and with the problem of the Salzburger removal still to come, it is not too much to assume that the member from Haslemere found some respite by visiting for a while with Sir Francis, who <sup>was</sup> ~~were~~, no doubt, hungry for news and gossip from England. An eyewitness account by Samuel Everleigh, a Charleston merchant, of the estate of this knight, gives some insight into the roughness of the early colony. Sir Francis' house was twenty feet by twelve feet, divided into a bedroom and a dining room. Although it was not wind tight, the clapboard cottage was probably water tight. Breakfast consisted of a large dish of fried catfish and perch, caught by Robert, Bathurst's son, the night before and a "good piece of cold pork." Everleigh had taken along two bottles of red wine. They drank the punch after breakfast and left the wine. The knight, his lady, and his son worked in the fields themselves and had cleared and planted eight acres between the time of their arrival in 1734 and Everleigh's visit in May 1735. Sir Francis planned to get two servants from Thomas Causton, keeper of the public stores, but he was concerned that he had no money to buy cattle.<sup>68</sup>

Oglethorpe, like the transplanted knight, had his problems, and this journey did not necessarily lessen one of the more important ones: the colony's defense, for he had thought to put a new band of Germans on the Altamaha to aid in defending that frontier. However, the Carolina sutlers who had tried to scare off the Highlanders and failed were more successful with the Germans. They smuggled rum aboard after Oglethorpe had gone ashore upon landing at Tybee to get fresh food supplies; the Carolinians

proceeded to tell these new pacifist arrivals "that all who went to the south would be massacred."<sup>69</sup> These same people had fled from their homeland, Moravia, in modern Czechoslovakia, to Herrnhut, in modern Germany, so that they might worship according to their Protestant pacific beliefs. Thus, confronted with the possibility of violence to themselves, they asked to go to Ebenezer. On his arrival at the Salzburger settlement, Oglethorpe sought the opinion of Pastor Johann Martin Bolzius on what to do about the Moravians. Bolzius took the side of the Germans. He argued that the newcomers "had emigrated for the sake of the Word of God; it would be contrary to the purpose of their emigration and voyage to Georgia to leave them without a pastor."<sup>70</sup> Pastor Bolzius did not feel that he or his colleague Pastor Israel Christian Gronau could separate and leave the existing German-speaking community. The Ebenezer community, however, did want to move, but not to the Spanish frontier. For this reason, Oglethorpe and some of the Austrians visited Red Bluff on the Savannah River, about five miles away from the existing settlement; the Austrians were authorized to begin cultivating the lands there, but they were not to move until London approved the new site.<sup>71</sup>

The third and final piece of business that Oglethorpe took care of before heading back for Tybee on the 12th dealt with the protection of the Highlanders at Darien. He dispatched Captain James McPherson and a "parcel" of his rangers plus some workmen to assist the Scots. McPherson, a native of South Carolina, and his Company of Southern Rangers had been transferred by Charleston in January 1733 from Saltcatcher's Fort about twenty miles inland from Port Royal to Oglethorpe's command in Georgia, which colony they were to protect. He had them build and garrison

Fort Argyle, less than ten miles up the Ogeechee from the first Scottish colonists, and First Fort about five miles further up the same stream. In addition to building and garrisoning these forts, the Southern Rangers went on patrols, one of which went from First Fort to Palachacolas Garrison, a sobriquet for Fort Prince George, on the Savannah River.<sup>72</sup>

It was to the commander of this garrison at Palachacolas, Lieutenant Anear Mackintosh, who would in time become the 22nd Mackintosh, that Oglethorpe took time at Tybee Island to address an order on Saint Valentine's Day. He had been told, he reported, that there were new settlers with Negroes, horses, and cattle, planting without authority on the Georgia side of the river. Mackintosh was to direct these to leave at once taking all their goods and chattels with them. If in three days' time, the slaves were not gone, the lieutenant was ordered to seize them and bring them before the magistrates in Savannah.<sup>73</sup> Slavery was strictly forbidden in the colony.

Oglethorpe and his party stayed at Tybee until the 16th when they headed south. The company included a missionary to the Indians, the Rev. Benjamin Ingham, A.M., and Christian Hermsdorf, one of the Moravians.<sup>74</sup> When they reached Saint Simons Island, some were left behind to construct an earthworks fortification to be called Fort Frederica. The others, led by Oglethorpe, rowed three hours up the Altamaha to visit the Scots at the place "which they desire to be called Darien."<sup>75</sup> At the mouth of the Altamaha, which is in very close proximity to the northwestern corner of Saint Simons, they met a boat carrying Hugh Mackay and John Cuthbert, "who is lieutenant of the Darien"<sup>76</sup> bound for Savannah, but they turned back when they discovered the approaching group. Cuth-

bert told them a story of an unidentified Highlander's encounter with an orange tree full of ripe fruit on "Dubois Island."<sup>77</sup> The Scot could not climb the tree because it was too tall and thorny; the prospect of not being able to obtain the fruit was too much for him, so he cut the tree down "and gathered some dozens."<sup>78</sup>

When they all got to Darien, the people were prepared for them. On seeing the boat, they were all "under arms...and made a most manly appearance with their plads, targets, broadswords & firearms."<sup>79</sup> Oglethorpe complained that the firearms were very poor and thought whoever furnished them should be so informed. He noted that the colonists had got together and built a cottage for the widow of one of their men and found the commander, Mackay, "an excellent officer in all the dispositions which he has made."<sup>80</sup> Further, he recommended that not only should the Trustees thank Mackay for his efforts, but they "should speak for the continuance of his leave of absence & obtain a commission for him to sell."<sup>81</sup> The Englishman with a remarkable display of finesse, showed up in Highland dress and at first was mistaken for one of the Scots. His hosts wanted him to be comfortable during his stay with them and that night "provid'd for him a fine soft bed, with Holland sheets and Plad curtains; but he chose to lie upon the ground in the open air, wrapt in his cloak between two other gentlemen."<sup>82</sup> The remainder of the party followed the leader's example "though the night was very cold."<sup>83</sup> Oglethorpe remained amongst the Scots for a few days, and while he was there, McPherson and the rangers arrived from Savannah after an overland march. Now, the Scots were not so isolated as they had been at first.<sup>84</sup> Fred-  
erica was sixteen miles up the Altamaha, and Savannah, heretofore

accessible mainly by water, now could be reached by horsemen.

After visiting at Darien, Oglethorpe, Tomo-chi-chi, and the rest returned to Frederica; which would become the Trustee's residence in Georgia. Francis Moore, one of the party, wrote of the visit to Darien:

The Scotch have met with a great deal of game in the woods, particularly wild turkeys of which they kill'd many. There was a party of Tomo-chi-chi's Indians who agreed mighty well with the Highlanders and fetched them in venison. They have a minister, Mr. McLeod, a very good man who is careful of instructing the people in religious matters and will intermeddle with no other affairs.

This town stands upon a hill on the northern branch of the River Altamaha on the main continent of America. The country behind it is high and healthy and fit for cattle though not so good for corn. The land near the river is fruitful, and a river falls into the Altamaha about a half mile above the town which is excellent good land. The timber upon the highland, behind the town is some of the best in Georgia.<sup>85</sup>

At Frederica, while awaiting communication from the Spanish in regard to a commission to establish the boundaries, the English leader with his friend the Indian chieftain and their followers passed their time in a variety of ways, including going on a hunt for the plentiful buffalo which ranged the mainland in large herds. He heard a report on March 16 that progress had been made in laying out a road between Savannah and Darien, as the community first named New Inverness was most frequently being called. Hugh Mackay, who with twelve rangers, had provided the escort for Walter Augustine, the surveyor, reported that a traverse line had been run between the two settlements. Following this line, builders would know where to lay out the ninety-mile road, more or less the modern United States Highway 17, connecting the two places.<sup>86</sup>

In April, word was received of an imminent Spanish threat



and Oglethorpe led a party south from Saint Simons to construct a fort upon the boat passage. He was troubled by his inability to garrison it, but "the Highlanders cheerfully offered themselves for that service."<sup>87</sup> Oglethorpe accepted their offer and sent a periagua to bring them from Darien. On April 19, as they were encamped on the Altamaha, the party from Saint Simons was joined by Captain Hugh Mackay, thirty Highlanders, and ten men of the Independent Company under Lieutenant Hugh Mackay. Sailing to the South with tools, they saw Wisoos Island which lay next to Jekyll Island on its southern side. Here, they landed to look it over. The northwest end of the island rose fifty feet or more "like a terras" above the water. On the extreme edge of the western point, from which could be seen all things coming and going for several miles, Oglethorpe marked out the site of Fort Saint Andrew's and gave Captain Mackay orders to build it. Toonahowi, Tomo-chi-chi's nephew who had been in England with his uncle, thought the island deserved a new name and displaying the watch given him by William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, he named the island Cumberland.<sup>88</sup>

~~Who was to guess that within a decade, kinsmen of these very Highlanders would curse the man as the "butcher of the '45"?~~

Leaving the Saint Andrew's party behind, the rest continued south going nearer and nearer into Spanish country. No doubt the closeness of the enemy was enough to cause hallucinations amongst the frontiersmen, for some of the boatmen though they saw a battery of cannon on the shore; this turned out to be cattle lying down. They passed the mouth of the Saint Mary's River, landing at an island which Oglethorpe, naming it Amelia, described as "the fairest of this province....Oranges, myrtles and vines grow wild upon it."<sup>89</sup> Apparently either bold, naive, or foolish, Ogle-



thorpe led the party to an island he called Saint George at the mouth of the Saint John's River, less than forty miles from Saint Augustine.<sup>90</sup>

The party headed back north after surveying the landscape, and Oglethorpe wrote the Duke of Newcastle that he had heard that the Spanish wanted to repossess the region to the Edisto River in South Carolina, but promised that "I will alive or dead keep possession of it."<sup>91</sup> By the date of this letter, April 17, 1736, the British were well on the way to establishing a defense network in the southern part of the colony. Prior to going south, Oglethorpe had inspected Fort Darien with its four cannon and had planned and garrisoned Fort Frederica at Saint Simons. Then, he had picked a particularly good vantage point on Cumberland Island to protect the inland waterway; before the year was out, he would put up at least three others south of the Altamaha. Now, however, he was back at Cumberland to inspect the progress of Fort Saint Andrew's and was especially pleased since Mackay had no engineer. The Scots were using the method of construction employed by Caesar at Gaul: alternating layers of wood and earth. He thanked the Highlanders for their efforts and offered to take any that wanted to go back with him; they all declined. However, he did order two family men back home.<sup>92</sup>

In the midst of all this preparation against an enemy attack, there came an event which, perhaps in retrospect, provided a little comic relief. On May 17, about forty Carolina sheep were landed for the use of the colony, presumably on Saint Simons Island. "Mr. Oglethorpe had ordered a pen to be made to keep them in till they were acquainted with this place."<sup>93</sup> The people who were supposed to do the building decided that they could be herded

like English sheep and failed to construct the pen. Whatever the original homeland of the sheep, they were now frontiersmen and wild as deer. Some said "they were not sheep but devils."<sup>94</sup>

Once again, James Edward Oglethorpe, friend of the indebted, defender of the frontier, negotiator with the Spanish and Indian, member of Parliament, colonial planner, explorer and soldier, came to the rescue; this time, he was a sheep hunter. He led a party of Indians and whites into the woods, and after a struggle, they were able to get most of the sheep under control.<sup>95</sup> This bad experience may have been the beginning of the aversion to lamb and mutton which is today widespread amongst Georgians.

While all this was going on, Oglethorpe had a couple of letters from Moral in Saint Augustine saying that couriers from the Uchee and Tallapoosa provinces had come saying that persons from Georgia had come with the intent of building a fort in their regions. Oglethorpe did not deny that he had sent the men; he did say that he had sent orders to leave his Catholic Majesty's subjects alone. However, he said that he did not know if his orders had been received prior to the departure of Sanchez's couriers because "the distance from the Tallapooches from us is very great, and the road through the woods is very bad."<sup>96</sup> This seems to have been a gambit on the part of the Englishman to add to the fears that Moral held. There seems to be no record apart from this correspondence of the proposed fortification. It also appears unlikely that Oglethorpe would have had a detachment of any size to spare on such a distant project when there seemed to be a more immediate need on the southern frontier. However, Moral, alarmed and defensive, must have seemed better than Moral, bold and aggressive. This seems to have been the Briton's aim. Indeed,

the closest the British would come to invading the Uchee or Tallapoosa areas would be to build a fort in 1736 farther up the Savannah from the Uchee Town; it was called Fort Augusta after Princess Augusta.<sup>97</sup> This point was as far up the river as one could navigate and thus, the British would have that waterway blocked from the French who might possibly come through the region of the Overhill Cherokees.

While Oglethorpe and Moultrie were carrying on this correspondence in late spring, the first portion of a British fighting unit was transferred from Fort Frederick, Port Royal Island, South Carolina, to Fort Frederica. In June, the remainder of Captain Edward Massey's Independent Company of Foot came under the acting commander, Lieutenant Philip Delegal. Oglethorpe posted the thirty men and their commander on the southernmost tip of Saint Simons some five miles distant from Frederica where they built Delegal's Fort.<sup>98</sup>

In May Captain Christian Hermsdorf was detailed to Saint George's Island to construct Fort Saint George. The construction was facilitated by finding the ruins of a fort which had been built there by Sir Francis Drake.<sup>99</sup> Hermsdorf had trouble with his men who fled to nearby Cumberland Island on hearing that Charles Dempsey, a crown emissary to Saint Augustine, and his escorts Majors James Richards and William Horton had been taken prisoners by the Spanish. Oglethorpe and a group of Highlanders set out in a yawl and a scoutboat to investigate. Oglethorpe landed at Saint George under a flag of truce, but found no one readily visible. He did find two horses hobbled on a hillock and an empty palmetto hut. A young Scottish lad, W. Frazer, was sent into the neighbouring woods under a white flag. He returned

"driving before him a tall man with a musket upon his shoulders, two pistols stuck in his girdle, and a long sword and a short sword."<sup>100</sup> For all his arms, the Spaniard was actually a messenger bringing letters to Hermsdorf from Horton and Richards about their anticipated return. Hermsdorf's men were quietened, and the fort was constructed on the aforementioned site directly opposite the mouth of the Saint John's River. Hermsdorf lost his command; Captain Mackay was now in charge, and Ensign Mackay commanded Fort Saint Andrew's.<sup>101</sup>

The Spanish governour, meanwhile sent out Don Ignatio Cob and sixty Spaniards and Yemassees in a launch to spy out the activities of the English. If Cob found the English to be as weak as reports claimed, they were to be chased out. The Spaniards tried to slip into Jekyll Sound, but were spotted by Ensign Delegal, the guard commander. When Delegal challenged them, they refused to answer; upon which, Delegal fired "some cannon with powder."<sup>102</sup> They noticed at about the same time that a British man-of-war was lying in Jekyll Sound and fled to the sea with great haste. Next, they attempted to enter a cove at Cumberland Island where they were, again, challenged, this time by the Scots at Saint Andrew's. The Spanish did not reply or show their colours; instead, they rowed with such diligence "that the same night they reached the Spanish out-guards on Saint John's River, near 60 miles distant."<sup>103</sup> When Don Ignatio landed, he held a war council with Don Pedro de Lamberto, commander of the Spanish horse troop, who had come bringing 100 foot and fifty horse. The two decided that the British main strength lay at Frederica and made plans to attack the British. Oglethorpe, spotting fires on the mainland, concluded that some troops had been sent and set

about to deceive the Spanish into thinking that he had no more reinforcements. He did this by ordering two carriage guns and two swivel guns to be carried into the woods so that the Spanish could not distinguish "where they were and fired and charged the swivel guns so often as to make a salute of seven and with the carriage guns I fired five shot in answer."<sup>104</sup> The swivel guns sounded like a ship saluting at a distance; the carriage guns sounded like batteries on shore replying. The Spaniards fell for the trick and when Oglethorpe sent out a truce party, the Spaniards made haste to go to Saint Augustine where they salvaged their egos by spreading tales of the size and power of the British at Saint George.<sup>105</sup> On the second night, Oglethorpe, now "one up" on the Spanish, made several fires in the woods distant from the fort to give the impression that there were more British present than there were. The launch having sailed, Don Pedro determined from the fires that it was expedient, too, for his men to go back to Saint Augustine, so, leaving a small horse guard behind, they did.<sup>106</sup> The arrival of Don Pedro's men back in the Spanish city heightened the confusion already existent due to reports of Don Ignacio's men. Moral called a council of war, and it was decided that the three emissaries from Oglethorpe presently held captive, should be returned to the British with an officer to beseech Oglethorpe to prevent Indian attacks and to discuss the English occupation of Spanish lands.<sup>107</sup>

Oglethorpe, meanwhile, had returned to Frederica to attend to colonial matters. Chief Tomo-chi-chi informed him that there were hundreds of Creeks ready to fight the Spaniards.<sup>108</sup> The leader opted not to take a major offensive tack at that time. Instead, he sailed southward with about fifty whites, some Indians,

a cannon, and a two-month's supply of provisions. About fifteen miles from Saint George, he spied a Spanish boat under a truce flag with Charles Dempsey, Don Pedro Lamberto, and Don Manuel, secretary to the governour and adjutant of the garrison.<sup>109</sup> Oglethorpe ordered them received aboard the man-of-war in Jekyll Sound and directed that tents be put up for them at Jekyll in order to keep them from going further into the island to discover the strength of the British. Oglethorpe tried to be a good host and entertained his guests at dinner aboard the ship with an honour guard of King's troops with fixed bayonets on the right and "the tallest, most warlike of the Highland emigrants" armed with targets and broadswords on the left. While Oglethorpe and his guests were drinking the health of the two kings under the discharge of cannon from the ship, fifteen pieces answered from Delegal's Fort and, in turn, the forts at Saint Andrew's, Frederica and Darien, all of which fire Oglethorpe had ordered. The Spanish were surprised that the British had so many forts so near each other and this possibly made them more reticent than they otherwise might have been.<sup>111</sup> At any rate, they began their dealings by attending to some Indian complaints; next, they turned to the real cause of their mission and asked the Englishman why he was settled on Spanish lands. He replied that he had not bothered any Spanish lands, only English lands. He had, he claimed, taken native Indians who possessed those lands in the first place and proceeded very carefully until he found Spanish outguards against which he settled Englishmen without disturbing the Spanish. After some further negotiations, Don Pedro told Oglethorpe that he thought the court of Spain should refer the matter to a court of Europe.<sup>112</sup> This meeting was held in May; before the year was out, a report was made



which indicates clearly why Don Pedro was so amenable to peaceful negotiations that he wanted outside arbitrators.

Antonio de Arredondo, an <sup>N</sup>ngineering officer, in a report dated November 27, 1736, reported that of the 297 soldiers available in the regular Florida garrison, eighty were too sick, old, or crippled for the battlefield. Further, he had found only two bronze cannon--a 36-pounder and a six-pounder--in good repair. Additionally, he had turned up only nineteen iron cannon--all eight pounders. Of the 6,586 cannon balls he had counted, many were no good. Governour Morál had asked the officials in Mexico for 1,000 troops in 1735; in reply, he got 100 Cuban grenadiers in 1736.<sup>114</sup> Thus, Morál was clearly in no position to mount an invasion and reports of cannon exploding from several sites in the new colony, together with men at arms aboard ship could not have helped his feelings of security. And so it was that a peace treaty was concluded between the two sides on October 18, 1736 at Saint Augustine.<sup>115</sup> The Spanish, who as recently as September 21, 1736, were demanding the returns of their lands as far north as  $33^{\circ} 50'$ , did not concede that the British had any right to a part of those lands.<sup>116</sup> "This agreement is without prejudice to the ancient right of the Spanish king over the lands which Mr. Oglethorpe had peopled and fortified, he alleging they belong to the King of Great Britain."<sup>117</sup> The signatories were to restrain their people from all hostilities against each other. "The island of St. George (alias St. John) to be dispeopled within 14 days, the fort destroyed, the garrison withdrawn, and no further settlement to be made there by either side, without prejudice to Spanish claim to that territory. Spanish ships putting into that island through weather should not constitute a breach

of this treaty."<sup>118</sup> Boundary differences were to be negotiated through the two courts and neither governour's subjects were to enter the other's area without a licence from their own governour.

Arredondo had attempted to interfere in the negotiations while they were in progress. He had gone up the coast and visited Oglethorpe who wrote the Governour of Havana in late August about Arredondo and defended "his most correct actions with regard to the Spanish English territory."<sup>119</sup> Arredondo was not easy to dissuade in his pursuit of English lands for Madrid, as evidenced in the fact that almost on the eve of the treaty he wrote the English leader from a ship bound for Saint Simons asking that the English leave Spanish territory.<sup>120</sup> While his request had largely been ignored, perhaps he could find some small comfort in knowing that the Union Jack would not fly south of the Saint Mary's River. No longer was the enemy so close to the Castillo de San Marcos. Although the treaty was not popular in Spain, "Moral, however, was a realist," who realized that Georgia was lost. "His aim now was to prevent the loss of Florida in the same way and he needed time to bolster his defences."<sup>121</sup>

The remainder of the year was for the most part uneventful. Things regarding the colony both at home and abroad continued pretty much as they had been. In London, the Trustees' land grants in 1736 included four of considerable size to Scots. In March, Thomas Ormston, an Edinburgh merchant, was allowed 200 acres<sup>122</sup> and in May, Patrick Graham, apothecary and chirurgeon of Crieff, Perthshire, was granted 100 acres.<sup>123</sup> Two Ayreshiremen, David Blair, gentleman, of Giffordland, and Thomas Boyd of Pitcon (sic) were granted 500 acres each in August.<sup>124</sup> All of the grantees were to take along servants at the usual rate of one servant for

each fifty acres granted. When they went out to take up their grants the recipients would find that there was a precise manner for the location of their lands. The plan at Savannah called for each freehold to receive a sixty by ninety foot town lot with a five acre garden plot beyond the commons. Each freeholder was also given a forty-five acre farm in his tithing. A tithing was comprised of ten homes in an area one mile square; four tithings equalled one ward which was under the jurisdiction of a constable and four tithingmen.<sup>125</sup> Although the idea of the lands being located in such a manner seems fairly obvious--the town lot for security, the garden lot close enough in for the whole family to tend thus enabling them all to eat, and the less important income plot some distance away--there were problems involved in the property separation. John Fallowfield, whose wife Elizabeth was kin to the Grahams,<sup>126</sup> wrote the Trustees in February 1737 defining the problem. The colonists had to clear two places; therefore, they were not getting much done although they had not been lazy.

There must be a house built on the town-lot, a hut on the 5 acres, and another on the 45 acres, and some part of the family must be at each place either to improve or prevent (what) are made from being stolen or destroyed...in three different places victuals must be dressed and some conveniences at each. I need not say how much this will increase expenses....It is indeed difficult to improve two spots of land at the same time and 5 acres cannot maintain a single person.<sup>127</sup>

Such complaints never made their way into the press which reported a different sort of item. The Caledonian Mercury, for instance, continued to report news of the colony regularly, and as usual, it was not always correct. On June 28, 1736, it reported "that they have already discovered some Silver mines, but will not meddle with them till the fortifications are compleated."<sup>128</sup>

The next day, it carried an item that the Spanish had attacked some of the English settlements in Georgia and killed several people.<sup>129</sup> Neither report seems to exist anywhere but in the pages of the Mercury. Generally, the news of the colony ranged from favourable to very favourable, making the settlement sound most attractive. But no doubt, such items as that reporting a resolution of the House of Commons of Ireland in March may have dampened the enthusiasm of some would-be emigrants. The Irish Commons resolved that Thomas Cummings, master of the George of Dublin, and his accomplices had committed "great barbarities" against many Protestant passengers in their voyage to North Carolina. Cummings' provisions were so scarce that it was "presumed he never designed to carry them thither...there has been of late, and still continues, a dangerous custom of seducing, by false representations and deceitful artifices, the Protest<sup>ant</sup>s of Ireland into several parts of America to their great ruin."<sup>130</sup> For all the negative imagery this may have created, no doubt an item from Charleston appearing in September captured the thoughts of some of some of the Mercury's female readers when it reported that "a certain town in this Province is mostly inhabited by bachelors and widowers." It went on to say that sixty women from Bermuda Island "pitying the poor bachelors' and widowers' case" had arrived with passages paid "to push their fortunes."<sup>131</sup>

The paper shied away from news of sickness and death, but they were in the colony that year. Oglethorpe told his secretary, the Reverend Charles Wesley, on Easter Eve, April 24, that he was dying and asked him to carry a diamond ring of his to Mr. Vernon and the Trustees. "I have expected death for some days."<sup>132</sup> He recovered, of course, presumably without the services of a physician.

Becky Bovey did have the services of a physician, Dr. Tailfer now back from Carolina, but she died in July anyway. Becky was first reported to be ailing by John Wesley on July 3. A week later, July 10, the two Bovey sisters had just finished drinking tea when Margaret, who was older, noticed her sister's colour change and "asked if she was well. She did not return an answer and Dr. Tailfer soon after going by, she desired him to step in, and said, 'Sir, my sister, I fear, is not well.' He looked earnestly at her, felt her pulse, and replied, 'Well, madam, your sister is dying!' However, he thought it not impossible bleeding might help. She bled about an ounce, leaned back and died."<sup>133</sup> Another death was that of Lady Frances Bathurst, who died April 2 at the age of 57.<sup>134</sup> Sir Francis, in the tradition of his fellow colonists, lost no time in returning to the holy estate of matrimony. On July 18, he and the widow Mary Pember were married in a ceremony performed by the Reverend John Wesley.<sup>135</sup> Sir Francis' daughter, Martha Bathurst Baker, died in September,<sup>136</sup> his bride Mary died in October,<sup>137</sup> and he himself died in November.<sup>138</sup> His only son Robert, fled to Carolina rather than pay his father's debts and was killed in the Stono Insurrection of 1739;<sup>139</sup> his daughter, Elizabeth, and her husband Mr. Piercy fled the colony in 1738 for England.<sup>141</sup> Clearly, life in early Georgia was only for the undaunted!

The undaunted were not always moral, and a curious narrative of one man's lack of morals went into John Wesley's journal.

Nov. 12, Fri. By a careful inquiry of many persons, I came to the full knowledge of a strange piece of history. Mr. Tailfer, a surgeon of Edinburgh, debauched the only child of one Mr. Ure a lawyer, his distant relation. He then persuaded her to sign a writing which she had never read, and to go over with him to America. She did so, partly out of fear of her father, but chief-

ly out of love for him. When she came hither, having been brought to bed in Carolina, he treated her as a common servant, and not only so, but beat her, and that very frequently to such a degree that scars made by the whip a year before were plainly visible at this time. The fault commonly was that 'the child cried when he had company.' After he had kept her thus for about two years, and she had borne him a second child (the first being dead), he married, and sold her to one of the Indian traders.

When I met him and her before Mr. Oglethorpe, he allowed the facts and defended them; only he had not sold her, but made a present of her to the Indian trader. Mr. Oglethorpe after a full hearing determined that she should be set at liberty (with an allowance out of the public store) to work for herself and her child.<sup>142</sup>

For all of his lack of morals, Tailfer does not seem to have been charged with any offence by Oglethorpe. Indeed, it does not appear to have been a violation of any law to give away one's indentured servant. One may recall that one of the servants brought by Patrick Tailfer was Rachel Ure'. In view of Wesley's mentioning her year-old scars from beatings, it does not seem improvable that she was the woman servant whom the Gazette said had been abused by him and who showed several signs of abuse on her face, arms, and other parts of her body. Oglethorpe had to have known of Tailfer's manslaughter charge in South Carolina; he had a constant relationship with officials in that province. That he would allow the rascal to re-enter the colony seems odd. It is possible that he felt Tailfer's medical skills were needed, but there were other doctors present: Dr. <sup>S</sup> Samuel <sup>NUNEZ</sup> Nunez and Thomas Hawkins and Jo. Smith was an apothecary.<sup>143</sup> Whatever the reasoning, the situation at the end of 1736 was that the Scotswoman was in need of someone to help her. The rigidly methodical John Wesley, in one of the few instances of compassionate action in his life, provided a home for her where she lived as a servant.<sup>144</sup>



Wesley, perhaps prompted by this encounter to become better acquainted with North Britons, was en route to Darien for a visit when the new year dawned. He ate at John Mackintosh Moore's table and walked with the Reverend Mr. Macleod, at whose house he spent the night. Wesley preached and prayed at Darien, but was not happy with the Scots' idea of extemporaneous prayer. He arrived in the Scottish village on Sunday January 2 where he was

surprised to hear an extempore prayer before a written sermon. Are not then the words we speak to God to be set in order at least as carefully as those we speak to our fellow worms? One consequence of this manner of praying is that they have public service only once a week....Yet it must be owned that in all instances of personal and social duty this people utterly shames our countrymen in sobriety, industry, frugality, patience, in sincerity and openness of behaviour; in justice and mercy of all kinds, being not content with exemplary kindness to one another, but extending it, to the utmost of their ability, to even the stranger that is within their gates.<sup>145</sup>

The Englishman found his Scottish colleague a "serious, prudent, and (I hope) a pious man."<sup>146</sup>

As Wesley visited among the Scots at Darien, plans were afoot in the Highlands to bring out more emigrants. Six months earlier, Oglethorpe had written to the Trustees, "The best way of supporting the place is by sending 400 servants, 100 may be had from the North and 100 from the West of Scotland, 100 from Ireland or Wales and 100 from Germany."<sup>147</sup> Oglethorpe promised to recommend recruiters from Georgia who would not only get servants for the Trust, but who would also bring over one servant at "their own expense for every servant for whose passage the Trust will give credit; by which means the colony will get two men by lending the passage of one."<sup>148</sup> Archibald Macbean, "who was sent to England by Oglethorpe to go to Scotland for servants,"<sup>149</sup> wrote of the recruiting on January 8, 1737:

I have a mind to let you know what passengers I can get at Inverness, all out of that shire and the next; the complement as I shall promise will be 100 people, 20 of them will be freeholders, 10 of them without families, and 20 young women, none of them whores or transports, but to be indented servants, the rest the same. All this I will do and ship them aboard in a month's time. I can provide these people as cheap as you can get them in any other country. The rest of my country are well settled and I have none, (nothing) which makes me uneasy concerning my family which is there (in Georgia). I desire to get to Georgia as soon as possible. My cousin and I, Laughlin Macbean, will pay for twelve passengers, ten men and two women. You cannot send a fitter captain for the country than Capt. Dymond, which will be as many people as the ship can carry. (sic)<sup>150</sup>

Daniel McLachlan also undertook to do some recruiting in the Highlands and reported on February 26;

The Highlanders will not leave their country without their leaders and the leaders are afraid to venture into a foreign country. But they have such affection for one another that they would go in shoals to America if there was sufficient detachment of their own people planted before them. With the countenance of the Trustees of Georgia, I will engage to carry over in two years enough men to more than double the present strength of Georgia without any expense other than proper utensils and first year's maintenance. This project would help to civilize the Highland clans, strengthen Georgia, and bring relief to people in a miserable starving condition. I desire no premium other than my expenses. If I cannot prevail upon all the clans at first I am sure to prevail upon our own and decoy the rest into happiness and plenty. The first detachment could be embarked about 1 August next. Our people are used to hardships; what they reckon comforts are very simple. If this project is kindly received, I shall immediately apply myself to the prosecution.<sup>151</sup>

McLachlan said also that he had for a "considerable time traveled up and down our Highland clans; and as I am intimately acquainted with and nearly related to most of 'em; I can't be a stranger to their temper and disposition."<sup>152</sup>

John Hossack at Inverness wrote Verelst at London that Macbean had delivered Verelst's letter to him and that he would provide the necessary credit for Macbean. He added, "Gratitude has

has engaged all this country to express their regard to Mr. Oglethorpe for the noted favours he was pleased to do with their friends." <sup>153</sup> Macbean wrote the Trustees' official the next day, March 26, from Inverness saying, "I have begun to recruit servants for the Trustees," <sup>154</sup> and he wrote Oglethorpe, I meet with all imaginable encouragement from Provost Hossack in levying servants." <sup>155</sup> The Trustees in Common Council noted on March 30 that they read McLachlan's letter proposing to carry over Highlanders, but postponed it for further consideration until May 11 when they agreed to a request made by ten gentlemen he was recruiting to be allowed twenty bushels or five Scots bolls of meal and a stand of arms for each manservant the ten carried. His request that his expenses be allowed was not passed. <sup>156</sup>

Curiously, while Daniel McLachlan was up in the Highlands recruiting amongst his clansmen, one of them, Lachlan McLachlan, together with Donald Cameron wrote the Trustees on behalf of "several considerable families in the highlands of Scotland who by the good encouragement their countrymen meet with in Georgia are inclinable to be of the number." <sup>157</sup> They also wanted to know "what encouragement each particular rank of men may depend upon... They are not only considerable but pretty numerous that are entered into an association to go if they like the proposals." <sup>158</sup> Late the following month, the Trustees resolved to "send the terms which the Trustees have settled for people going to Georgia at their own expense." <sup>159</sup>

From London, Daniel wrote Oglethorpe in early April that he was resolved to show the Trustees that he had not offered them any idle scheme; he also claimed that his 100 men "are in a capacity to transport and maintain themselves without being

obliged to the Trustees for anything else than land."<sup>160</sup> He asked nothing more than approval and felt that when the "Trustees are satisfied they will reward me."<sup>161</sup> However, Daniel allowed that if the Trustees took no notice of his proposal, "we shall settle in Carolina or some other part of America....These people will set out by August 1 and wherever they plant themselves the rest of the clan will follow."<sup>162</sup>

The common council completed negotiations for transporting the new colonists on April 18 by authorizing a contract with the owners of the Two Brothers to go to Inverness and collect forty men for the colony at £5.0.0 per head. They allowed twenty shillings per head for bedding and clothing. The ship, Captain William Thompson, master, was to stay fourteen days at Inverness, but, if at that time, the forty had not been raised, the captain could go or stay, as he wished with such as he did have. Thompson was to carry a supply of arms and ammunition for the colony as well as moulds and iron ladles for making musket bullets.<sup>163</sup> The Trustees ordered 300 pairs of shoes to be made at four shillings a pair "according to the pattern John Cox made the shoes that were ordered 13 August 1735."<sup>164</sup> William Stephens' employment as Trustees' secretary in Georgia was approved at the same time.<sup>165</sup>

On April 19, Verelst wrote Causton that "Mr. Anderson lately sailed from Cromarty in Scotland to Georgia"<sup>166</sup> was to be given credit in Georgia if he wanted it for twelve bushels of corn and 200 pounds of meat for himself and each of his servants for a year. Anderson was granted fifty acres in June 1736 and arrived in the colony on June 27, 1737<sup>167</sup> "with 15 of family and servants."<sup>168</sup> The only ones aboard identifiable are his wife, Elizabeth;<sup>169</sup> two sons, "Alexr."<sup>170</sup> and Moore,<sup>171</sup> and a daughter "Cath."<sup>172</sup>

an Edinburgh cooper, Robert Hay, who later received a 500 acre grant.<sup>173</sup> Anderson settled on lot 178 in Savannah where he took up his appointment as keeper of the public gardens.

Having attended to the needs of Hugh Anderson, Verelst notified Hossack of the arrangements regarding the Two Brothers and directed him to hire Archibald Macbean or whoever he thought proper to engage them. Persons of 20 years or older were to be indented for four years; those under 20 were to serve until they reached the age of 24. Hossack was given detailed instructions on collecting the signatures of the indentures and the person to whom they were bound. He was to collect the signed documents and send them to Causton in Georgia "who will have instructions for employing them in the public service."<sup>174</sup> He was then to send the Trustees a list of their names and ages. Although the common council minutes state that twenty shillings were to be allowed for clothing and bedding in the voyage, Verelst wrote that the allowance was fifteen; he did, however, offer the twenty shillings sterling for each servant engaged, which agrees with the council minutes. Additionally, Hossack was told,

You are to buy for the Trust and send to Mr. Causton for the Highlanders 300 yds of tartan at 12 d. a yard for short coats and short hose and 1200 yards of tartan at 14 d. a yard for plaids. You are further to buy 12 spinning wheels with some wool and hemp for flax for the women to be employed in....Mr. Bean was desired by his countrymen and others in Georgia to come to Scotland to engage servants for them which they are to pay the captain for on delivery in Georgia and the owner in consideration of Mr. Bean's trouble gives him his own passage back and the passage of some servants for himself in proportion to the number he shall engage and ship over and above the 40 to be shipped for the Trustees.<sup>175</sup>

Emigration was not the only concern of the Scots with regard to Georgia. The Society in Scotland for propagating Chris-

tian Knowledge sent through Adam Anderson £41.15.16 to the Reverend John Macleod at Darien.<sup>176</sup>

Macbean brought Verelst up to date with news from Inverness on May 21.

I wrote you this day sennight how matters stand here for the interest of the Trustees and have now to add that I have got four servants since, but they lie a heavy charge on the Trustees since Capt. Thompson has not arrived; for was he here I could put the whole of them on board in 24 hours. It would very much satisfy the gentlemen who stand friends for the Trustees that Capt. Mackay's sayings and writings should be confuted by the public prints. He has written to the two brothers as he did in his former in answer to my letter of the 16th current that he would come to this place and make good what he writes if anybody would hear his charges; but though they were not promised he cannot adventure here. The newspapers and the captain's behaviour very much hurt the undertaking so that it would be well done to put a stop to both.<sup>177</sup>

That same day, a Saturday, Thompson sailed for Inverness, and the following Friday, Verelst sent Causton his instructions for dealing with the servants. They were to cost the Trustees £7.5.0 for engaging, clothing, bedding, and freighting. The Trustees would pay eight pence a day for those put on board for their victualling "from the day of shipping to the day of sailing."<sup>178</sup> The Trustees themselves had helped to defray the cost of the Two Brothers' northward voyage by paying fifteen shillings each, the total "being 30 £."<sup>179</sup> If fewer than forty were shipped, they would pay an additional forty shillings "for each of the 40 short shipped."<sup>180</sup> The cargo was to go to "Lieut. Moore Mackintosh at the Darien,"<sup>181</sup> who was

to offer each freeholder of the Darien that was there when Mr. Oglethorpe left the place (beginning by the oldest) to take one of the said servants and give security by bond for repaying the Trustees the sum of 8 £. sterling in twelve months from that time. One servant is to be delivered to Alexander Cameron. Remaining servants are to be set to work by Lieut. Mackintosh at sawing timber into 1½ inch and featheredge



boards, saws being sent by this ship. Those remaining servants are to have four lbs. of meat a week, a bushel of corn and 2½ lbs. of butter a month and 7 lbs. of cheese a quarter. (These servants were not under Macbean's jurisdiction.) The indentures of the other servants shipped for persons who had desired Macbean to get them servants will be endorsed to the Captain to secure the money he is to receive for them; where the people of Darien can pay him for any (over and above the said loan to each freeholder,) they should have the refusal as coming from their own country. You are to recommend a kind usage to the servants thus brought and be civil to Macbean. You are to take care that the people at Darien are supplied with provision. You are to send up Indian guns for all the servants at Darien to be delivered to their masters for them.<sup>182</sup>

The guns for the servants on the public funds were to be given to Mackintosh and Macleod was to get credit for the money given by the SSPCK. "I have written to Mr. Hossack to send to you by the Two Brothers 150 pairs of what the Highlanders wear on their feet."<sup>183</sup>

Verelst wrote Hossack during this time about several matters including Macbean's allegations against Mackay.

Macbean is very much to blame to take upon him to call persons names and reflect upon the persons Capt. Mackay carried over with him....You are desired to rebuke him for such behaviour, the Trustees having had no complaints of any of those persons Capt. Mackay took over with him, and they have been very well pleased with his services in Georgia.<sup>184</sup>

He planned to show all correspondence about Highland matters to the Trustees, but he reminded Hossack that he had been commissioned by the Trustees to hire Macbean or whoever he thought proper to recruit servants and that he was to collect the money allowed for that as well as for the supplies ordered. Verelst informed the Inverness man that Macbean had asked the Trustees to ship three servants for him, but they would not pay both the engaging fee and the passage of servants, too. However, the owner of the ship would allow him to carry a portion of servants in rela-

tion to the number over forty he recruited, "and in that case he possibly may be supplied with passage. But if by any unforeseen accident Macbean should not be in a condition to earn of the owner or pay his own passage, I have written to Capt. Thompson to take him on board to return to Georgia."<sup>185</sup>

Near the end of May, Macbean reported to London from Inverness, and one may conclude that at least a part of the shipment was leaving under duress.

I now have on hand upon a heavy charge...the complement of servants for the Trustees. They begin to mutiny and challenge a guard of ten men. I can now say I have them but cannot promise how long I can keep them. Duncan Macdonald...was to be delivered to me yesterday by Major Cunningham, commander of Fort George, Inverness. But early in the morning he leaped over the ramparts and is gone off. I have employed two soldiers of the Independent Company lying in this place to go in search of him and will advise their success in course.<sup>186</sup>

In early June, Hossack wrote London confirming that some of the emigrants were not terribly keen on going.

We could not propose a fitter person to recruit servants than Macbean; it is a very fatiguing task, some of them making their escape and others carried off by their friends who will not allow them to go abroad. The trustees' allowance for engaging money and cloathing is already exhausted. Had the ship come a month ago the number had then been furnished and money saved. Macbean ought to be rewarded; we have not let him know how little is proposed for him lest he abandon the service. We have not yet heard who the Alexander Grant is that furnished six servants for the gentleman in London though we have wrote for information. The reports which Lieut. Hugh Mackay gave of the colony has created some jealousies among the commons though it did not attend higher. In the character which Macbean gave we think he meant to distinguish between his and Capt. George Dunbar's recruits. The plaids if they are all had will not be so much satisfaction as if the time which will probably pass had been allowed for us having them made by direction.<sup>187</sup>

The voyage of the Two Brothers from the Thames River to Inverness took exactly one month. Captain Thompson reported June

25 that he had had a tiresome passage and foul weather arriving on June 21. He started to take on passengers on Friday, the 24th, when twenty men came aboard with seventeen expected the next week. Macbean had engaged them earlier; "he goes to the country for them tomorrow."<sup>188</sup> The captain had learned from Hossack and others that the recruiter had been diligent and thrifty and that the Trustees' allowance would not cover the expenses Macbean had incurred nor pay Thompson his allowance. Several gentlemen were trying to get servants in answer to requests made by friends in Georgia "which I hope will facilitate our departure....I find it is more difficult and troublesome to get servants here than I imagined."<sup>189</sup>

Two weeks later, on July 9, Macbean reported that he had been at a fair at Tain the preceding Saturday and he now had thirty-three Trust servants and ten more ashore. "Besides I run a good chance next week in the two principal fairs that stand in this and another place four miles distance from it to make several servants and if possible a piper or two."<sup>190</sup> On Friday, July 15, the Two Brothers was still docked at Inverness, and Hossack reported that the captain had lost no time in preparing conveniences for his passengers "how many there shall be cannot yet be concluded. The friends of John Mackintosh of Leniwilg upon the Altamaha River are advised that he is much distressed by the death of the servants he carried over and his inability to purchase any in Georgia. They have therefore provided two or three to be sent him but doubt they can be useful to him if he must pay their passage."<sup>191</sup> They had asked that Lynvilg's case be presented to Oglethorpe and the Trustees for their direction.

Using the Coulter and Saye edited list of Georgia emigrants

originally compiled by Egmont, there appear to be ninety-five persons who went out to the colony; thirty-nine went as Trust servants; fifty-six "were hired and carry'd at Capt. Thomson (sic) the owners risk, but the Planters unable to pay...., Mr. Causton without orders took (the servants) on the Trustees Acct. and certified the same which made us lyable for the charge."<sup>192</sup> In studying the dates and assorted notations and correspondence relevant to those persons, it appears at first that two ships were sent in 1737. For the fifty-six unauthorized servants, the date of embarkation is given as November 19, 1737; the date of arrival is January 14, 1738. For the thirty-nine Trust servants, the dates are June 24, 1737 and November 20, 1737. Assuming that Hossack, a responsible merchant, wrote the month correctly, it is known that the Two Brothers was in Inverness as late as July 15 and more than likely later because Hossack declined to give the number of passengers in his communication to London of that date, clearly inferring that there were more to come. At least two sources report Thompson's arrival in Georgia in November. Samuel Everleigh wrote Verelst on December 2 saying that he had been told by Capt. Stuart lately come from Georgia, that Capt. Thomson is arrived from Inverness<sup>e</sup> with 115 servants about 12 days since."<sup>193</sup> November 20 is twelve days before December 2. Thomas Causton wrote January 14 to the Trustees that Thompson arrived November 16.<sup>194</sup> One can only wonder if Egmont recorded June 24 as the departure date from Inverness when he meant July 24 possibly. Following a delay or two en route, the proper arrival date appears quite clearly to be November 20. The second set of dates seem to be the result of Causton's actions in assuming responsibility for the fifty-six: he chose a date in close proximity of their arrival

as the time of their embarkation and the date that he notified the Trustees of his deed as the date of their arrival. The passenger list included only one Scot who paid her own way: Ann Cuthbert,<sup>195</sup> whose brother John had emigrated on the Prince of Wales. There were three Englishmen<sup>196</sup> or presumed Englishmen on board the vessel who paid their own passage. Two are listed as having wives and children;<sup>197</sup> these three men with their dependents would have totalled ten persons<sup>S</sup>, assuming that all the wives and children were, in fact, aboard. This ten plus the ninety-five mentioned above and Ann Cuthbert would have totalled 106 persons, nine fewer than the number which Samuel Everleigh had heard. Excluding those who paid their own way, the remaining ninety-five do not all have Scottish surnames; there are also English and Welsh names.<sup>198</sup> However, this cannot exclude them from being Scottish citizens. The two lists--the authorized and the unauthorized--when compared, present some interesting observations. First, all the names of the authorized servants appear to be Scottish and male. Secondly, they are older; only three or 7.6 per cent are sixteen or younger. In the unauthorized servant roster, ten names are given by onomasticists as being other than Scottish, and fourteen or twenty-five per cent are sixteen or younger with three or 5.3 per cent being under ten years of age. The names of the two youngest children suggest that they were shipped at the owner's risk while their kinsmen were shipped on the Trust account. These two are Anne Macgruer, age 4, who was likely kin to Alex Macgruer, age 30, and Macgruer, "alias Jo. Frazer," age 24, and Donald Rose, 7, who was possibly related to Donald Rose, 25. The third young child, Gilbert Grant, 9, was one of five Grants, all 18 or



or younger shipped at the owner's risk; there was one Grant, Jo., 19, who was a Trust servant. The Grants' ages looked at together--19, 18, 16, 15, 14, and 9--suggest that they could have been members of the same family. One can only speculate on this point; however, one possible explanation is that they may have been orphaned children who hoped for a new life with one of the four Grants, Andrew, John, Archibald and Patrick, already in the colony. The most likely would be Patrick of Aberlour, a farmer who had received a 100 acre grant on May 19, 1736.<sup>199</sup> John was his servant.

In August, 1737, Verelst notified Causton that he could dispose of the servants on Thompson's ship, over and above the forty for the Trust to masters in Georgia on credit. The charge was one bushel of corn per servant per month. Causton was to hold the indentures as security for the repayment of the corn in two years' time. He further directed Causton that servants which would remain to the Trust and were to be sent to Mackintosh "are to be furnished with a plaid, a short coat and short hose, two shirts and two pairs of shoes a years."<sup>200</sup> These supplies were to come from those aboard the Two Brothers; Highland servants under Hugh Mackay were to be given the same allowance. He further advised Lieutenant Mackintosh that one of the Trust servants was to be delivered to John Mackintosh of Lyn<sup>w</sup>vilg in lieu of a servant he lost in the Trustee's service.<sup>201</sup>

Across the ocean in Georgia, the Spanish threat did not subside in 1737, so regardless of what grand and glorious things Macbean, Thompson or anybody else told the Highlanders they sought to recruit, the truth of the matter was that the emigrants would join their countrymen on that threatening frontier.



In early February, Lieutenant Governor Thomas Broughton wrote the Duke of Newcastle enclosing a copy of a letter he had received from Commodore Dent at Jamaica which described "the designs formed by the Spaniards to invade and unsettle the colony of Georgia and to excite an insurrection of the Negroes of this province."<sup>202</sup> Broughton said the Carolina Council had moved immediately to ally the Creek Indians with the British forces; the Spanish and French were active amongst the Creeks at the same time even inviting some of the Indians to visit Saint Augustine. Dent's letter included information which he had received from Cartagena in early November, 1736. Within a couple of days, a Mr. Thorpe of Charleston wrote his brother-in-law in London of the unrest in Carolina saying the assembly was "sitting day and night and sat Sunday last all day,"<sup>203</sup> because of a communication, presumably the above mentioned, had reported that a large, well-manned fleet in Cuba planned to invade the province. The same month, Governour Richard Fitzwilliam at New Providence, Bahama Islands, wrote Newcastle attaching several depositions taken that same month from American and European seamen telling of an impending Spanish invasion. The proposed attack under the guidance of an ex-Carolina bailiff named John Savy, who now styled himself Don Miguel Wall, was being set for March.<sup>204</sup>

The Spanish fear continued, but the settlement of the Scottish Highlanders would not yield to terror. Causton wrote the Trustees on March 8 that he had been informed that "the Darien people have entrenched themselves and are determined to defend themselves to the last extremity and not to quit their lands but with their lives."<sup>205</sup> The needs of this part of the colony were not forgotten, and in late March, the Peter and James, Captain

Dymond, master, sailed with a case of arms for Fort Frederica and Fort Saint Andrew's. Each case contained twenty-five new muskets and bayonets.<sup>206</sup> But impending hostilities were not all that was on the Britons' minds when they thought of the colony, for someone sent on the same ship a box of garden seeds and a "gift of a scarlet garment with gold lace and fur"<sup>207</sup> for the aging Tomochi-chi; however, they did think of his more realistic needs and toss in ten pounds of strong gunpowder. Toonahowi got materials for a suit. There was also aboard, Verelst wrote Causton, "two women servants for you which Macbean hired."<sup>208</sup> No indication of their country of origin is given. He added that the Trustees were alarmed at the reports of Spanish threats and urged watchfulness and caution throughout the colony; they, the colonists, were, however, reminded of their purpose in being there: "Defence is the business of the inhabitants of Georgia."<sup>209</sup>

Things were quiet for the next couple of months and the threatened invasion never materialized in March. Darien did have a bit of excitement in May; William Horton, writing from Frederica on May 7, said that he did not know how to judge an alarm at Darien. He said it was certain that a shot had been fired in the night-time "and that everyone of Mr. Mackintosh's people were within the fort at the time the sentries affirm they saw seven men, four of whom went under the cover of the bushes one way and three another."<sup>210</sup> From the fort, several shots were fired, and one of the Scots told Horton that he thought he had wounded one of them.<sup>211</sup> Nobody knew whether the seven were white, Indian or a mixed lot. Later in the year, the Spanish were expected to take to daylight snooping. Captain James Gascoigne of the Hawk wrote Martyn that he thought the Spanish would be "frequently

sending trifling messages in order to see our improvements and increase in numbers."<sup>212</sup>

The Trustees, in turn, sent a memorial to the King on August 10, explaining that Georgia was "very much exposed to the power of the Spaniards" and had aroused their envy with its valuable ports "upon the homeward passage from the Spanish West Indies." The Spanish had increased their forces and the Trustees complained that they were unable to defend the colony. They wanted "the province (to) be protected by a necessary supply of forces."<sup>214</sup> The Trustees had ample reason to request aid. In May of that year, Philip V responding to requests from Morál and Arredondo directed Francisco Guemes y Horcasitas, governor of Cuba, to organize an expedition against Georgia. At the same time, he ordered 100 men, supplies for 400 troops, and 150,000 pesos from the viceroy of New Spain at Mexico City, who, for a change, complied promptly. The Cuban governor anticipated that the invasion could take place by the spring of 1738.<sup>215</sup>

Oglethorpe was in England continuing his argument that the British crown had the right to the territory. He had been in England since the first weeks of the year to attend Parliament ostensibly, but more than likely to quieten charges and contradict stories that were being circulated about the colony and himself. Always he defended the colony as a rightful possession of Great Britain. In fact, according to the Trustees, "the only dispute which can remain is whether the 29th degree belongs to the King of Great Britain or Spain."<sup>216</sup> Oglethorpe claimed Georgia because it was a part of Carolina, and the British had title to it "based on the discoveries of the Cabots, the capture of St. Augustine by Sir Francis Drake and Charles II's grant of 1665 to

the Lords Proprietors of Carolina."<sup>217</sup> He defended a charge of British hostility by claiming that "with respect to insults or hostilities; none has been committed by any British inhabitant of Georgia;" <sup>218</sup> instead, he claimed that the British had restrained Indians from taking revenge against the Spanish for atrocities committed against an Indian by a Saint Augustine party.

In August, he sent a memorial to the secretary of state asking for assistance for Georgia's defences. Since the 1736 accord, the enemy had increased its garrison "in the neighborhood" and "have sent over a man who himself confesses that he is to guide them in the invasion of those provinces."<sup>219</sup> He reported receiving a second memorial from the Spanish who now demanded "that the King would send over no forces to defend his frontiers though they have sufficient to conquer them. The safety of several thousand British subjects there and of 30,000 slaves will depend upon the Spanish pleasure."<sup>220</sup> He argued that if there were no forces to protect Georgia and Carolina "they can at will destroy the one and take the other."<sup>221</sup> Further, the member for Haslemere questioned that the Spanish sense of honour would be sufficient to prevent their taking advantage of the British defencelessness and wondered if they could resist the £600,000 sterling which was the cash value of the slaves. "If they should choose the profitable rather than the honourable part, what method can be taken for satisfaction? Have they not shown in the seizures of the South Seas Company's effects and of the merchant ships how difficult or impossible it is to recover anything from them? What planters will stay, much less improve, under these circumstances?"<sup>222</sup> Oglethorpe pleaded that a regiment of 600 men plus officers "can give no just umbrage to the Spaniards since the number of men is too small to

hurt them and hardly sufficient to protect the King's subjects."<sup>223</sup> Nobody paid Oglethorpe any attention, and the King responding to a request of August 10 by the Trustees<sup>224</sup> ordered a "regiment of 600 effective men raised for the defence of the colony"<sup>225</sup> and sent there. Oglethorpe was named colonel; an Ayrshire man, James Cochran,<sup>226</sup> was made lieutenant-colonel, and William Cook was appointed major.<sup>227</sup> The Trustees, at the same meeting, granted 500 acres each to Cochran, Cook, and Robert Hay, who had gone with Hugh Anderson to Georgia and who was now recommended by Patrick Lindesay, provost of Edinburgh.<sup>228</sup> The Trustees also showed, again, their concern for the every day life of the colonists by ordering fifteen barrels of herring from Scotland "each barrel containing 1000, at 16s.. each barrel to be bought and sent to Georgia." ~~Maybe Oglethorpe had brought word back that the settlers fancied a wee bit of a kipper for their breakfast.~~

One would think that the constant threat of the Spanish would be enough to occupy the colonists' energies; it was not. In May 1737, the Scotch Club--or more correctly, the members of what came to be known as the Scotch Club--began to be noticed. And if one recalls that they are more commonly known as the Malcontents, the tone of the notice is obvious. William Stirling in that month complained that William Bradley, a teacher of agriculture, had taken possession of lands on the Vernon River which the Scot felt he had a right to because his grant was older than Bradley's.<sup>230</sup> Stirling told Causton that he had given up all thoughts of settling on the Vernon and had chosen a large tract of land "sufficient for himself and brother, & some other friends who would come immediately if they were sure they could have lands to joyn theirs."<sup>231</sup> This complaint seems a bit strange, for it must be remembered that



the Stirling brothers and some of their compatriots had taken up up lands on the Ogeechee. While the Vernon is not far from the Ogeechee, it seems highly unlikely that the two brothers could claim two separate sets of grants--one on the Ogeechee, one on the Vernon--at the same time.

William Stirling was charged with abusing and assaulting James Smith, a millwright, with a great stick on May 31. "I sent for Stirling...to answer the complaint, & it appeared that Stirling with others of his countrymen were walking up & down Bull Street."<sup>232</sup> Smith and some others were sitting by the water side of the Savannah street when Smith pointed a stick at Stirling, who asked what the gesture meant and "held up his stick & threatened him."<sup>233</sup> Smith said that he was not afraid of Stirling "for all he was a Scotchman."<sup>234</sup> Stirling reacted to this remark by beating Smith, bruising his shoulder. The victim of this encounter claimed that he had been discoursing about gunning and had pointed his stick saying, "If that was a gun, he could shoot them two men."<sup>235</sup> The trouble, according to Stirling had begun the night before when Smith and his companions, observing Stirling and his friends walkings, said, "If the Devil was to cast his net, what a parcell of Scotchmen he would catch." <sup>236</sup> Stirling said that he thought the pointing of the stick "was another instance of Reproach which he & his countrymen had frequently met with & that it was very hard that they could not walk up & down the Streets without being reproached for their country."<sup>237</sup> Causton knowing Smith to be well-behaved and industrious, believed him and ordered Stirling to appear at the next sitting of the court. A half hour later, another millwright's labourer who was drunk at water's edge, saw Mr. Cuthbert and Andrew Grant coming down



Bull Street and said, "If he could have his will, he would knock them Scotch sons of bitches' brains out."<sup>238</sup> Edward Jenkins<sup>239</sup> heard him and took him before Causton who placed him in stocks. There were a number of Scots at Causton's house when this took place, and he represented to them "the impudence of thinking of any trifling reproach given to any one of them an injury done to the whole body of Scotchmen.

"Their daily spending time in walking the streets, drinking at publick houses, ingrossing the conversation of all strangers and an imperious manner of behaviour, I fear had rendered them odious to many."<sup>240</sup>

Patrick Grant of Aberlour, although a Highlander and a farmer, did not remain with the colonists from Inverness and the North. Instead, he took up lot 166 in Savannah<sup>241</sup> and in June, 1737, he complained that he did not have a five acre lot or other land. "He owned he had formerly refused any, not then intending to cultivate it, thinking he could spend his time better, but that now he had altered his mind, & desired he might have it set out: I told him I would take care about it."<sup>242</sup>

Not all the Scots at Savannah were troublesome. Patrick Houstoun wrote Sir John Clerk of Penicuik a friendly account of life in the colony in November of that year. "I take this opportunity ...to acknowledge most gratefully...the favours you was pleased to bestow upon me, your favours with my other friends have put me in a way of getting my bread after being reduced by my follies and misfortunes. I shall do my endeavours to be more careful in time coming."<sup>243</sup> He recalled having written of his settling a plantation the preceding January some ten miles south of Savannah. His land was situated between two rivers and ten or twelve miles

from the sea. If somebody would come and clear two little wooded points, he would have an open view toward the southeast and hence, the sea. The Trustees planned to establish a town about a mile northwest of him on the same river where he had his house, and he would, then, have a clear view of that. Houston claimed that he had "got cleared and planted last season betwixt twenty and thirty acres,"<sup>244</sup> which seems like an unbelievable amount in view of Everleigh's observance of the Bathurst clearance. "I do not design," he continued, "to clear much more land...till I get what is cleared put in good order."<sup>245</sup> He was, then, working on a two acre garden plot which would be finished in a fortnight. In a very awkwardly worded passage, Houstoun reported that he had had cotton grown and thought enough of its success that he planned to plant more the next year, 1738.

I had some cotton grown last year of seed I had from my agent at St. Kitts,<sup>246</sup> it being too late before I got my ground prepared for it. I had but little but enough to do (observe) that it will certainly do in this colony....I think (it) will be the most speedy product we can go upon (grow) till the silk and wine (which I believe is the Trustee's design) be brought to perfection, which might take some years. Please God, I live, I design to plant some acres of cotton and indigo next year; I do not doubt but most of the America(n) plants, both of the main and of the island, will go in this colony with a little care. In the West Indians, they generally have about 1,500 pounds of clean cotton upon one acre and also corn (a) little less (corn than) if the cotton were not planted.<sup>247</sup>

Houstoun's observation on the value of cotton producing was prescient, for it, that is, cotton, took hold after the American Revolution, and by 1826, Georgia was the greatest cotton-producing region in the world.<sup>248</sup> Needless to say, it dominated the state's economy and continued to do so for decades to come. It seems highly possible that this Glaswegian introduced the staple to the state,

for one historian gives 1738 as the earliest date "when the Salzburgers grew a few stalks amidst the frowns of the Trustees."<sup>249</sup>

Houstoun wrote on to say that he lived "mostly in town... and follow my merchant business, provisions, and other necessities here....I hope my plantation will afford me necessary provisions next year."<sup>250</sup> He asked Sir John to mention his--Houstoun's--name to any Trustees that he happened to be in touch with; "their countenance will be of great advantage to many settled in this country."<sup>251</sup> He offered to send his benefactor and his lady anything from his new country which they would like. "I have been endeavouring to get some Indian garments and their other curiosities to send you but that trade not being settled...I have not got anything worthwhile. If you incline to have any seeds, plants or any other thing, I hope you will let me know."<sup>252</sup> Patrick obviously had not forgot who helped him out.

Another Scot also remembered favours from the folks back home. John Mackintosh of Holmes, second son of John Mackintosh of Holmes and Elizabeth Baillie of Dunain,<sup>253</sup> wrote John Mackintosh Senior, merchant in Inverness and father of Provost John Mackintosh in December.

I am not forgetful of the many favours conferred upon me, particularly your act of benevolence at my departure from your place, and hope, through Divine Assistance, to be in a condition of making you an acknowledgement. I am ready to consign your money as you advise. I refer you to Sandy for description of this part of the world and hope you will use your interest with his father, for servants and necessities, since he is resolved to settle here. You will remember my kind service to your wife, your Uncle Angus, and William and Angus, Lynvilg's sons....Your affect. cousin, John Mackintosh, Darien, in Georgia.<sup>254</sup>

John of Holmes, the younger, had signed a promissory note at Inverness in October 1735 to pay John the merchant £6.14.0 in

three years' time. <sup>255</sup>

As the colony ended its first half-decade, then, it was beginning to take on something of an air of stability despite the ever-present Spanish threat. At Darien, at Savannah, at Ebenezer, to mention only three sites, identifiable, viable communities were thriving. Most of the colonists were "seasoned" now; they had survived the heat and the ailments of at least one summer. They had learned to hunt and fish in the streams and forests and, probably from the Yamacraws, ways to prepare and preserve what they had taken. They were beginning now to get the feel of the land they had cleared and were making it produce. Indeed, John Mackintosh Moore told William Stephens near the end of the year "the people at Darien were diligent and well content and that divers of them had 20 bushels of corn upon an acre for their labour which was a great encouragement." <sup>256</sup> The people, then, were settling in and whether they knew it or not were becoming Georgians. Oglethorpe back from England could take some comfort in this growth and development as he looked to the years to come.

## Chapter IV

The year 1738 began in colonial Georgia on the now rather routine threat of Spanish aggressions and ended on a note of mounting internal disharmony centering on the slavery issue. Emigrants continued to come, but the major contingent to arrive that year was ordered to be there--the 42nd Regiment of Foot. The colony was beginning to take shape as a place to live, and memories of such things as the heather blooming on Drummosie Muir were perhaps not as painful as they once had been. In London, about the time the hyacinths bloom, a committee of the House of Commons heard Robert Jenkins tell how his brigantine the Rebecca had been boarded and plundered by the Spanish off Havana seven years earlier. Jenkins showed the committee what he claimed to be his ear lost at the blade of the Spaniard, Captain Fandino.<sup>1</sup> Out of this little bit of drama emerged what came to be known as the War of Jenkins' Ear, a war which is more important to Europeans as the prelude to the War of the Austrian Succession.<sup>2</sup> The War of Jenkins' Ear was conducted on the Georgia frontier, ending for the most part in 1742. Those encounters were, however, in the future, and Georgians, in early 1738, had matters other than the Spanish to contend with.

By mid-January 1738, Captain Thompson and Mr. Causton had completed the negotiations about the unauthorized servants, and the Two Brothers was being prepared for sailing. It was the custom for any homeward bound ship to take packets of letters and other items back home. The Two Brothers was no exception. It is probable that Stephens, the Trustees' recently arrived secretary, may have sent home the first of several journals he would prepare for his employers. Although it may be a bit bold to

suggest that Stephens' journals have the literary merit of Boswell's London Journal or the meticulous attention to detail of John Wesley's journals, one must observe that they provide an excellent insight into the commonplace happenings of the colony. No where else can one learn of such delightful trivia as the problems of the Widow Vanderplank's geese and how Dr. Graham persuaded Miss Cuthbert to marry him. That first volume did not deal with romance or geese; it reported that there was discontent at Savannah, and some Scots were in the middle of it.

Stephens first encountered "several of the Scotch gentlemen"<sup>3</sup> less than a week after he arrived on Tuesday, November 1. Near evening on his first Sunday in the colony, he and three or four of them visited at tea; he was told that Causton had persuaded the Reverend John Wesley to write the Trustees "that the Scotch were universally a turbulent people, who neither regarded divine or human laws, but lived idle and continually fomented mischief."<sup>4</sup> The following Tuesday, the new secretary had a visit from Patrick Mackay and Robert Williams, a former Bristol merchant, who held a 500 acre grant in the colony.<sup>5</sup> They wanted to draw up a memorial to be sent to the Trustees complaining about the tail male system and the exclusion of slaves. One can only wonder why Williams, who had a son back in Bristol,<sup>6</sup> and Mackay, who had already taken care of the inheritance of his land, were concerned about the tail male system. Stephens suggested that such complaints should stick to the facts and give the Trustees the opportunity to work out the solution. In mid-December, Stephens labeled the complain-ers at Savannah in such a way that the sobriquet he gave them, "Malcontents," continues to identify them after more than two centuries. Robert Williams and "some others mostly Scotchmen,"<sup>71</sup>



planned to plead their case to the Trustees. "These may truly enough...be deemed Malcontents, being continually infusing into people's heads bad notions of their tenure, and going so far as to term it a slavery under the Trustees, who probably would take possession in time of the fruits of their labour, in case they were ever able to bring their lands to any perfection after throwing away the best of their substance in the way they now went."<sup>8</sup>

While Stephens was concerned with the unhappy Scots in Savannah, he noted in an entry dated November 16, 1737, that another Scot was spreading discontent with Georgia in the Highlands. "In several occurrences of this day, I learnt that Capt. Hugh Mackay had been very industrious in the Highlands to make bad impressions on the minds of the people there, with relation to this colony."<sup>9</sup>

Captain Thompson had told of several instances, and James Anderson a carpenter, had shown Stephens a letter from an Inverness magistrate, Baillie Avis, "who was his friend and kinsman wherein I read abundance of malicious false reports, spread by him to the discredit of the truth."<sup>10</sup>

At about the same time that Thompson in his brigantine was sailing out of Tybee Road for Charleston and thence, England with assorted letters, journals and cargo, the Whitaker, Captain Whiting was heading up a convoy to go from England to Gibraltar and take on 250 men from the Earl of Rothes' 25th Regiment of Foot;<sup>11</sup> the remainder of Oglethorpe's regiment was raised in England.<sup>12</sup> Amongst those in the party for Georgia were the Reverend George Whitefield, a protege' of the Countess of Huntingdon, and his aide, James Habersham.<sup>13</sup> The Reverend Mr. Whitefield, obviously an ecclesiastical opportunist, preached sermons against swearing and drunkenness to the troops while the Whitaker was in Gibraltar

harbour in March. He also "made a farewell application to the soldiers who were going to Georgia,"<sup>14</sup> and as they were not going aboard his ship, the preacher asked that they be ordered to come to church "that I might have an opportunity of telling them how to behave in that land which they were going over the sea to protect."<sup>15</sup> The Trustees, perhaps, sensed that Rothes' men would be reluctant to transfer, so they gave them five acres each "at their first going over; and after seven years' servitude, to have 20 acres each."<sup>16</sup> Whitefield's entries of Gibraltar mention several times, quite favourably, a Captain Mackay, the first being on February 24, when he brought the clergyman an invitation to lodge ashore.<sup>17</sup> On March 19, he urged the men to heed the sermon against drunkenness;<sup>18</sup> on the 21st, "Captain Mackay much encourages the soldiers to learn to read and write."<sup>19</sup> On Tuesday, March 28, Mackay joined Whitefield's prayer service at 6 A.M. on deck; "surely our soldiers will be without excuse since their captain leads so good an example."<sup>20</sup> This Captain Mackay is presumably the same one who was in the Highlands spreading bad information about Georgia. In a report dated London, December 20, the South Carolina Gazette reports that Lieutenant Colonel Cochran, Major Cook, Captain Mackay and several other officers with Mr. Whitefield had sailed for Georgia.<sup>21</sup> Neither Whitefield nor Egmont agree with this date; however, it may have been that this was the day the ship first docked in the Thames or there may be yet another explanation. Whatever it is, it seems reasonable to assume that this is the same Mackay who was in the Highlands, for he obviously enjoyed Oglethorpe's appreciation and, perhaps, had returned with him in early 1737 to England.

Cochran, Mackay, and two of the ships, the Whitaker and the

Amy, anchored at Cockspur Island immediately north of Tybee Island on May 6 because Cochran could not find a pilot to bring them nearer to the mainland.<sup>22</sup> The third transport arrived nearly a week later having steered first for the Carolina coast.<sup>23</sup> Both Causton and Mackay report that the Whitaker's passengers were the only ones with any sickness out of the entire party. Causton wrote that they were "generally ill of fevers...some have died."<sup>24</sup> Mackay, who was apparently aboard the stricken ship, told the Trustees, "Every man, woman and child I had on board was then or had lately been sick...We lost but two infants of all those that come from England. Poor Mr. Whitefield did not escape the common distemper...P.S. The other two ships that had the people from Gibraltar had little or no sickness."<sup>25</sup> Thirty-three were hospitalized at Savannah; five died in spite of the care given them by Dr. Patrick Graham.<sup>26</sup> Mackay's remarks were contained in a letter to the Trustees defending his decision to compel the ship "I was in to endeavour first to make the river Savannah (contrary to the orders of Captain Fanshaw, commander of the HMS Phoenix.)"<sup>27</sup>

In a little more than two weeks, Captain Mackay had been ordered by Cochran to take a company to Fort Saint Andrew's where "young Hugh Mackay...commanded till the regular King's forces arrived."<sup>28</sup> Cochran took a company to Delegal's Fort on the south end of Saint Simons Island on May 29 and began construction of Fort Saint Simons. In June, the Independent Company of Foot was sent back to Fort Frederick, South Carolina, where they came from. It was, then, reinforced with some of the recovered troops from aboard the Whitaker, and the unit became known as Captain Richard Norbury's Company.<sup>30</sup> Oglethorpe, it must be remembered,

was commissioned General and Commander-in-Chief in London to head up the military operation for both Georgia and South Carolina. The newly appointed general officer and the three companies of men raised in Britain arrived at Saint Simons Island in early autumn. He chose to station his own company at Fort Saint Andrew's. A second company under Major William Cook appears to have joined Cochran's company at Fort Saint Simons;<sup>31</sup> a third company commanded by Captain Alexander Heron<sup>32</sup> is thought to have been garrisoned at Fort Frederica.<sup>33</sup> Thus, Oglethorpe was beginning at once to implement the orders issued to him by George II in May, for he was directed to go to South Carolina and inquire of Spanish military preparations, assign the military forces for the defense of both colonies and to put the forts in order. "You will not give offence ...nor suffer encroachments on Spanish territory and you will use your endeavours that our Indians commit no hostilities against the Spanish Indians."<sup>34</sup> However, if British territories included in the charters of 1660, 1663, and 1730 and possessed by British subjects in 1730 were to be attacked "you will defend it and act offensively."<sup>35</sup>

There were no serious Spanish attacks that year; however, there were countless rumours and alarms, not all of which were genuine. One example of how the fear of the Spanish may have been used to an individual's own benefit occurred before Oglethorpe had his orders from the crown. Bailiff Parker's servant came to town one April morning from his master's plantation ten miles from Savannah and reported four strange men had arrived there at about ten that morning. The servant claimed that one of the men had drawn a sword but had been stopped by another who spoke English. They were described as being swarthy, dressed alike in dark

clothing and having braided black hair. Each was reputed to be armed with a pistol, sword, and gun. Causton found the man<sup>y</sup> on the way to Ockstead and asked Stephens to question him more closely. Captain Aneas Mackintosh, who was in town from Palachacolas, agreed to go with two of his men at daybreak the next morning since Parker had defended his servant's honesty, saying "he believed the fellow would say nothing but the truth."<sup>36</sup> The town guard at Savannah was doubled that night, and the citizens anxiously awaited Mackintosh's findings the next day. However, he found no trace of the strangers which led Stephens to think the story had been contrived so that the servant could take a day off and come to town.<sup>37</sup>

While the threat of violence claimed by Parker's servant may have been false, Oglethorpe himself was attacked, and his life was in jeopardy. Curiously, it was not the Spanish but the British troops who were the aggressors. In carrying out the King's command to assign the troops and see that the fortifications were in order, he went on November 1 to inspect the fort and garrison at Fort Saint Andrew's.<sup>38</sup> While he was at breakfast at the commanding officer's barrack, a large number of unarmed men came into the fort and demanded to speak with Oglethorpe. The general, believing there was mischief in the offing and realizing that the men could seize the fort and its guard, "walked therefore nimbly out the gate."<sup>39</sup> Oglethorpe then signaled that the officer of the guard secure the fort and entertained some unreasonable demands. The mutineers were Gibraltar men, for the general described "all those who came over with me" as being "well-affected."<sup>40</sup> The issue at hand was that the Gibraltar troops were accustomed to getting provisions as well as pay, but the King had



allowed them provisions for only six months which time was drawing to an end. They claimed that the King's pay was not sufficient to keep them without provisions, and also that "Colonel Cochran had not pay<sup>ed</sup> them their Sea Pay during the time they were at sea."<sup>41</sup> One asked for beds for the camp. The general ordered that fellow tho his quarter, but the Gibraltar man countered, "They were cold ones, that they would not be so answered," and shouted, "Now is your time; One and All!"<sup>42</sup> At this Oglethorpe seized him as a prisoner which provoked another to say, "You shall then take us all."<sup>43</sup> Captain Desbrisay captured the latter, and he and the general took the two into the fort. The remainder of the mutineers attempted to crowd into the fort, but "Captain Mackay and Mr. Hugh Mackay strove to stop them at the barriers, but one of the soldiers whose name was Ross seized Captain Mackay's sword which broke in the struggle."<sup>44</sup> When they saw that they could not force entry, the Gibraltar men ran back to their camp; meanwhile, Oglethorpe, having deposited his prisoner within the fort, returned to the scene to see what had transpired. He noticed a Highlander holding down Ross and ordered the man not to hurt his prisoner at which direction, the mutineer was released to race back to his camp. After thinking over the best strategy, Oglethorpe decided that if he left Ross and his companions to be masters of the camp outside the fort that they might be able to persuade the troops raised in Britain to join the attack. He decided to act boldly and enter the camp thus preventing the British and their families from joining the Gibraltar side. Before he could act, Desbrisay told him that not only were the mutineers assembling, but that they were loading their guns also. Oglethorpe "sent to turn out the quarter guards (and also for) the Highlanders



and boat crews to come up with their arms"<sup>46</sup> and went with Desbrisay<sup>47</sup> into the camp, hoping that his presence would be a deterrent. He was wrong, for "I no sooner turned into one of the streets of the camp, but I saw a great many men with their arms, and one just behind the corner of the Hutt about 5 yards from men presented his piece at me."<sup>48</sup> Oglethorpe cried out to him, "Down with your arms!"<sup>49</sup> The assailant replied, "No, by God, I will down with you."<sup>50</sup> Oglethorpe charged him; he fired, but the bullet "whizzed above"<sup>51</sup> the general's shoulder, but the "powder burnt my cloaths."<sup>52</sup> Another man fired, but the bullet missed Oglethorpe, who must not have been hurt too badly for he sought to use his firelock as a club on the general. "But before he made sure of his blow, I closed in with him with my sword and seizing his firelock with my left hand, wrested it from him saying, 'Wretch! I will not kill you. I will leave you to the hangman.'<sup>53</sup> Still a third Gibraltar man attempted to shoot Oglethorpe but his gun misfired, and when Oglethorpe moved to take his weapon, he let go of it and ran away.<sup>54</sup> The general told the remainder of the rebels that he would shoot any who resisted him and pardon those who would disperse which they did at once. He then turned around and saw some officers coming to join him and a Highlander about to strike with his broadsword: the mutineer who had fired at the general which act was prevented. Captain Desbrisay and Captain Mackay both had captured weapons, and Captain Mackay received a slight injury.<sup>55</sup> Oglethorpe later talked with the discontented soldiers and finding at that time that their principal grievance was the sea pay due them, he ordered Cochran to get the matter attended to so that the men could be paid by November 16.<sup>56</sup> He also granted a pardon to all but the five ringleaders

who were to be court-martialed.<sup>57</sup> His account mentions no resolution <sup>of</sup> the grievance about provisions.

The five ringleaders were not the only ones facing court martial in the military establishment of Georgia at year's end. Lieutenant Colonel Cochran brought six charges against Captain Mackay; three of these appear directly related to the mutiny.<sup>58</sup> In addition to charging the junior officer with neglect of duty, insulting his commanding officer, and failing to obey and "having contempt of orders," he was also accused of "not taking proper care to provide the two companies under his command with necessaries he knew they must want;...ill usage of the men which was the occasion of a general discontent and an uneasiness amongst the men, and "endeavouring to excite the men to mutiny."<sup>59</sup> Mackay countered by accusing Cochran "of having followed merchandise to the neglect of his duty and selling to the soldiers at exorbitant prices. Of Occasioning the Spirit of the Mutiny, of having broke the treaty with the Spaniards."<sup>60</sup>

The problems between Mackay and Cochran had started some months earlier, although exactly when is not apparent. However, as early as July 1738, there was discord between the two, for Stephens entered in his journal that Cochran had come from the South and was sending the scout boat on to Port Royal for Lieutenant Philip Delegal because he wanted Delegal to take command of the troops then under Captain Mackay. The captain "had behaved so badly that he (Cochran) was determined to put him under arrest till Colonel Oglethorpe's arrival."<sup>61</sup> Mackay, however, does not seem to have been relieved of his command; for one thing, Delegal sent back word that he was too sick to come to Georgia. The disagreements between Mackay and Cochran continued to brew, and at

last, the charges and countercharges were made.

Mackay could be tried in Georgia, but Cochran could not because there were only six captains and field grade officers in the regiment, and thirteen were required to sit as the court for a lieutenant colonel. On January 12, 1739, the general court martial, Major William Cook, president, found Mackay not guilty of any or either of the six charges made against him by Cochran. "The whole accusations are malicious and without foundation, and ...the said Captain Hugh Mackay is honourably acquitted of the same."<sup>62</sup> The court-martial expressed the opinion that Cochran needed reporting to Oglethorpe, charging that he had behaved extraordinarily "by appealing to the soldiers in court in general terms" by claiming that the officers of the court did not do him justice and were lacking in experience. The court also reported a great spirit of mutiny amongst the soldiers, particularly those of Cochran's company.<sup>64</sup> Cochran, in his presentation to the court, claimed that two days were taken up with affidavits and charges against him. He alleged that Mackay had charged him with stealing the King's clapboards and that he wanted a copy of all that related to him so that he could be examined under oath by a civil magistrate and "prove it scandalous, malicious and false."<sup>65</sup> President Cook, for the court, sent Cochran a letter on January 10 that it would not be dictated to and asked him to produce the "several articles of a heinous nature against Captain Hugh Mackay"<sup>66</sup> which had been charged. One can only speculate what influence the captain's two clansmen, Ensign James Mackay and Adjutant Hugh Mackay, as well as his colleague in Highland recruiting, Lieutenant George Dunbar, had on the remaining nine officers of the court.

Whatever the influence was, the result of the adjudication did nothing to resolve the animosity between the two officers. Mackay, the trial now behind him, asked leave of Oglethorpe to go to England to prosecute Cochran, who also asked for leave so that he could "strive to get out of this regiment that all proceedings might be stopt."<sup>67</sup> The regimental officers negotiated a truce between them until Oglethorpe could give them leave. In the meantime, Mackay went to Fort Saint Andrew's to superintend the execution of Hurley, a mutineer who had tried to shoot his captain.<sup>68</sup> On his return, the discord took a very serious turn as Oglethorpe described the events to the Duke of Newcastle.

I was walking with the Lieutenant Colonel on the seabeach when Captain Mackay returned, landed, and came up to me with several officers. After I had spoke to them, and Captain Mackay had given me an account of the execution, the Lieutenant Colonel called Captain Mackay aside. I turned aside to speak to the chaplain, and suddenly turning my head about I saw the Lieutenant Colonel strike Captain Mackay with a great stick he had in his hand. The officers ran in to prevent mischief. I inquired of them, and they all declared that they had not heard Captain Mackay give him any ill language. Upon this I put them under arrest and shall keep them under arrest till they have embarked in different ships. They desired examinations to be had of several facts, on which I appointed commissaries to take them and have them sent to the secretary at war to be laid before his Majesty.<sup>69</sup>

The two officers left the country in separate ships under military escort. Lieutenant George Dunbar and two others escorted Cochran to Savannah "as under an arrest"<sup>70</sup> on March 3, 1739, and he stayed with Stephens while awaiting his ship. Mackay came the next day, Monday, March 4, under a guard headed by Adjutant Hugh Mackay; he was billeted at the public house. The feeling between the two Scots was so high the general feared they might kill each other on sight. The general court martial involving the two off-

icers May 31 at Whitehall;<sup>72</sup> no mention of adjudication can be found. However, Cochran was appointed lieutenant colonel of Colonel Charles Douglas' newly raised regiment of Marines on November 22, 1739,<sup>73</sup> subsequently serving at Cartagena with this unit; he succeeded to its command April 26, 1741.<sup>74</sup> In Georgia, Major William Cook became lieutenant colonel;<sup>75</sup> the major's position was declined by a Captain Edmonson and was, in turn, accepted by Captain Alexander Heron.<sup>76</sup> Mackay returned to Georgia and took up his career there.

The problem between the two may have stemmed from jealousy. One somehow gets the idea that Mackay, although apparently a pretty good frontier soldier, was not above currying favour and was not always straightforward in his dealings. Certainly, the tales of the bad reports of the colony which he allegedly made came from too diverse sources to be ignored as totally false. He seems always to be at Oglethorpe's elbow though his proper duty station was Fort Saint Andrew's. One infers that he would like to have been more of a "big heid" in the colony than he was. Add to that, the fact that he and Cochran were more or less contemporaries, yet the latter outranked him by two grades. Where Mackay had a company to command, Cochran had a regiment, although they had begun their military careers in succeeding years. Cochran served first as an officer in the Royal Fusiliers, being commissioned at Dublin Castle a captain in Lord Forrester's Regiment of Foot, the First East Lancashire, in 1718.<sup>77</sup> Presumably, he remained there until sometime after the Earl of Rothes became commander of the Twenty-Fifth Regiment of Foot in May of 1732.<sup>78</sup> One of his fellow officers in the First East Lancashire was his suc-



cessor in Georgia, William Cook.<sup>79</sup> Mackay began his military career as a volunteer under General Wightman in the action at Glenshiel in June 1719; for his good services against the rebels, he was awarded £100 by the King. and recommended for a commission.<sup>80</sup> In July 1719, he was commissioned an ensign in Captain How's company, which position he appears to have retained until he came in contact with Oglethorpe.<sup>81</sup> He is termed a lieutenant from his earliest dealings with that Trustee. On August 25, 1737, he was commissioned a captain in Oglethorpe's regiment.<sup>82</sup> Curiously enough, the listing of officers commissioned in the Forty-Second Regiment of Foot, Oglethorpe's, does not include Cochran.<sup>83</sup> Cochran was given a 500 acre grant in Georgia on November 23, 1737, in which it was stipulated that in the event he had no male heir his grant would go in succession to his three daughters, Mary Ann, Betty, and Caroline, if each, in turn, had no male heir.<sup>84</sup> The same day he received his grant, one also for 500 acres was passed to Cochran's nephew, George Preston, junior, of Valleyfield, Perthshire, son of Anne Cochran and Sir George Preston, Bart.<sup>85</sup> Although Preston had leave not to go over, that is readily understandable, for unless young Preston was issue of a prior marriage of Sir George's, he was not more than about eleven years old, the couple having been married in 1725.<sup>86</sup> Cochran and his nephew never took up their grants and so they reverted to the Trust. The former Georgia officer died at Hampstead, June 29, 1758, "Having missed his succession to the Dundonald peerage by ten days."<sup>87</sup>

Cochran, Mackay, and Ross, the Gibraltar soldier, were not the only Scots to run afoul of the authorities in 1738. Patrick Grant of Aberlour, a tithing man at Savannah, was sentenced to gaol by the magistrates in May. Stephens described him as a



weak man, but "conceited in his own opinion and affected to distinguish himself by a pert and saucy behaviour."<sup>88</sup> He insulted the magistrates of the court "by peremptorily refusing to obey their orders, and setting them in open contempt; for which they deservedly committed him to gaol." Although his countrymen made a great fuss to get Grant out on bail, the magistrates would not allow it. They wanted him to stay in and "grow sensible of his offence."<sup>90</sup> Grant, however, was not at all penit<sup>e</sup>ent and wrote asking Stephens to interced<sup>e</sup> on his behalf saying that "he had made a protestation for damages and illegal imprisonment."<sup>91</sup> The colony's secretary replied that when the gaoled man owned up to his crime and showed some remorse, he would do what he could for Grant; one of his responsibilities, he said, was to reinforce the magistrates' lawful authority. By early June, the magistrates had given Grant several opportunities to post bail, but he "continued to be obstinate and seemed determined to offer none, writing frequent letters to all his acquaintances and exclaiming against their (the magistrates') proceedings as arbitrary and illegal."<sup>92</sup> Stephens felt that pride and an "aversion to submit"<sup>93</sup> were Grant's problems, and he determined to give the tithing man no assistance until "he came to (a) better temper and thought fit to offer bail."<sup>94</sup> On June 7, Patrick Grant gave bail and "a proper recognizance was prepared for it, which, instead of signing in form, he underwrote a few words, justifying what he had done."<sup>95</sup> In August, Grant wrote the Trustees that he had suffered insults from Bailiff Parker and asked for "a fair and legal inquiry."<sup>96</sup> Patrick Grant probably never had his injuries avenged to his satisfaction, for he was killed in a duel in June 1740.<sup>97</sup>

Patrick Houstoun was also in trouble about the same time, but his was a private grievance. Thomas Christie was granted a warrant by Causton against the former Glaswegian for £7 or £8 sterling. The alleged offender was taken into custody and brought before Causton to Christie's satisfaction. Houstoun, then, complained about "being taken about the town in custody when it was well known (that) from his large plantation and other circumstances, that he was not running away."<sup>98</sup> Causton seems to have taken an affront at Stephens' having Houstoun and William Stirling for a beef dinner. He viewed this as a gesture of sympathy for Houstoun's side of the argument.<sup>99</sup>

Apart from the legal problems, both military and civil, affecting the Scots, there remained in early 1738, the problems of the servants on the Two Brothers for which Causton had paid out unauthorized Trust funds. Causton informed the Trustees he had sent the forty servants they had "particularly ordered for the Darien...I also sent thither the chiefest part of those other servants which the captain brought at the owner's risk."<sup>100</sup> Causton said that Hossack had sent a letter recommending John Broadie as a settler in Georgia, and he had tried to help him. "As he was not able to answer the captain (for) the charges of their passage, they are included among the number of servants shipped at the owner's risk, for which I have given my receipt....I therefor have their indentures and he agreed that six of them should be employed in your service."<sup>101</sup> The pay of these servants and "such other necessities as I shall be obliged to supply him for his further support"<sup>102</sup> would be entered in Broadie's account. Broadie was a sober man who with the remainder of his

servants was diligent in his improvements on his property which was in a new village on the western road. The six Broadie servants on the Trustees' service were working on the roads.<sup>103</sup> George Foster, who also came on the Two Brothers, had similar financial problems involving servants. He indented three of the Scottish servants who were aboard in addition to the two he had obtained in England to help him with his fifty-acre tract at Frederica. Foster, however, could not pay for the three as well as for the balance due for the servants he had brought from England. Additionally, he would need credit at Frederica to live on. Causton and Foster were at odds over the resolution to the problem. Foster wanted a Scottish man and woman and an Englishman to go with him to his grant. Causton, apparently not as impressed with Foster as with Broadie, told the Englishman "to quit his claim to those servants he had shipped at Scotland since they were two women and but one man they would be an encumbrance to him."<sup>104</sup> Still a third emigrant whose servants Causton paid for was Thomas Upton who had come with his wife to take up a 150 acre grant in the South. He had obtained five servants who were indented to him in Scotland. Causton paid for all five, but allowed Upton two men and one woman; he kept the other two to be employed at the Trustees' sawmill at Ebenezer. William Horton later reported that Upton seemed very industrious at his place near Frederica, so Causton sent the other two to join their master.<sup>105</sup>

The Trustees had sent over three servants: one for the Widow Vanderplank, one for John Brown, and one for Stephens,<sup>106</sup> who wrote of his, "Mr. Causton lent me a Highland woman for a servant, highly recommended by Captain Thompson. But she is pregnant, the author being of her own country and brought over half a score

of servants with him in the same ship."<sup>107</sup> One can only wonder if John Broadie, who brought over ten men and one woman in the Two Brothers and who was Scottish, was the so-called "author." Of the remainder, those responsible for paying the Trustees and the number of servants they purchased were: Archibald Macbean, two men; Causton, four men, two women, and one boy; Laughlan Macbean, one woman who was his wife; the daughter of Benjamin Mackintosh, one woman; John Mackintosh Moore, three men and one woman; Will Mackintosh, one man; Kenneth Baillie, one man; James Anderson, three men and one woman; and Thomas Upton, three men and three women.<sup>108</sup> Sir John Lade owed for one woman for Nathaniel Polhill's widow,<sup>109</sup> and the Trustees planned to ask Mrs. Upton's sister to be responsible for her brother-in-law's servants.<sup>110</sup> The cost per head was £8 sterling per head payable in twelve months' time. The Trustees directed that all those servants whose indentures could not be taken up by freeholders were to be employed "sawing and cutting timber for the Trust on the ungranted lands near the Darien for the use of the public."<sup>112</sup> In June, it was ordered that two women, one girl and one boy be put under John Mackintosh Moore's supervision for public work, and seven Scots servants were to be set to work in the cultivation of the 300 acres granted for religious uses at Frederica.<sup>113</sup> At year's end, Mackintosh wrote an account of 40 menservants, 10 women servants, one boy and one girl<sup>114</sup> under his care. Twenty-five of the men went to Darien freeholders at the established price, fifteen remained in Trustees' service, four of whom died.<sup>115</sup>

All of them for a long time not agreeing with the climate were sickly and at our several alarms before the troops' arrival were obliged to attend at the southern parts of the province and were a

long time before I could get them to the knowledge of the art of sawing; but at last they attained to it and are now in a fair way to make a return to the Trustees for the expenses they have been at.<sup>116</sup>

Mackintosh and Oglethorpe talked about pulling some of the men away from the sawmill and giving them other jobs, but Mackintosh did not favour the idea, since the servants were getting on with the sawing, and "having several thousands of feet of sawn boards ready to be employed as the Trustees please...he did not think it proper to take them off."<sup>117</sup> And as to the womenservants ...several of the soldiers petitioned the general to have them for wives, and he seeing that they were of no manner of service to the Trustees and...being very burdensome to the stores, he gave leave (for them) to marry."<sup>118</sup> Mackintosh reported that the freeholders were unable to meet the Trustees' request for immediate payment because "they have received no manner of coin for their labour since they came to this place nor any other return whatsoever, by which means they are quite unable to answer any demands at present."<sup>119</sup> In spite of the Spanish alarms, the freeholders had cleared, fenced and planted five acres of land, but the extremely dry spell they had experienced had hurt the corn production. The Darien leader reported that they might have starved had not Oglethorpe given them an allowance for the year of twelve bushels of Indian corn, 100 pounds of meat, fifty-two pints of molasses, and some clothes and shoes.<sup>120</sup>

John Mackintosh Moore did not inform the Trustees in that December letter that not only had hardship befallen the colony with the drought of summer, but his family had suffered a tragic loss also. In June, Stephens recorded that "a most unhappy accident befell Mr. McIntosh's family, whose two sons (young lads)



being swimming in the river, an alligator snapt one and carried him quite off."<sup>121</sup> One scholar has concluded that the lost boy was Lewis,<sup>122</sup> twin brother of Jannet, whose names do not appear in Egmont's listings.

Not only was the colony susceptible to such strange deaths as that of young Mackintosh, but natural illness took its toll, too. Dr. Thomas Hawkins wrote Verelst on January 10, that since November 1737, he had lost only two patients at Darien "notwithstanding scarce one has escaped illness and many yet remain in a doubtful way."<sup>123</sup> Four months later in May, he wrote Oglethorpe from Frederica, saying,

All the people belonging to Capt. Thomson's vessel have been under my care, four of whom could not be cured by any means but a course of mercurials with which I had success. I have had many ill but few lost since the account in November. At Darien, now called New Inverness, two of the Trustees' servants, one manservant by being scalded on the belly and privy parts and a woman of the bloody flux and a child in a consumption have died; thirty have recovered from fluxes and fevers and inveterate scurvies. At Frederica, a servant belonging to the bricklayers died in an atrophy. Two have died at St. Andrew's and Amelia, both dropsy. The people have 95 acres of corn planted but the season as yet proved excessively dry and everything is at a stay for want of rain.<sup>124</sup>

Not only were Mackintosh's statements corroborated, at least in part by Dr. Hawkins, but also by Oglethorpe who wrote Verelst at roughly the same time that Mackintosh did. The general agreed with the disposition of servants on credit "because that encouragement had enabled the settlement to continue under all difficulties arising from the Spanish alarms, etc., they being the frontier settlement on the continent."<sup>125</sup> Oglethorpe had not been pleased with the womenservants whom he called a "dead charge to the Trust excepting a few who mended the clothes,



dressed the victuals, and washed the linen of the Trustees' menservants."<sup>126</sup> He had been pleased to give "some of the soldiers who were Highlanders" permission to marry the women on condition that the soldiers would discharge the Trust from "all future charges arising from them."<sup>127</sup> The menservants, he claimed, were the only ones who brought any advantage to the Trust, and he refused to take them from sawing timber until the "Trustees knew the circumstances."<sup>128</sup> They were getting boards for the "church or rather chapel at Frederica" which Oglethorpe had agreed to have built. "The whole building will be 60 foot long by 20 foot wide, three streeys, the two foremost cellars and rooms for provisions, books, etc., and the uppermost a chapel."<sup>129</sup> By using the Trustees' timber and servants in addition to the flints which Oglethorpe had brought over, he felt that he could get the building constructed for £150 exclusive of any cost of the timber or the servants. Without this help, it would have cost twice as much according to Oglethorpe, who also observed that while the Darien freeholders had no money to pay the Trustees they "were very willing and able to pay in sawed stuff for that and provisions for which they owe."<sup>130</sup> He echoed what both Hawkins and Mackintosh had said about the hard year. "They wanted provisions for three-quarters of this year, having raised but just enough to supply themselves three months. I am forced to let them have one bushel of corn and 8 lbs of meat per head per month upon credit."<sup>131</sup>

Correspondence about the colony went to and from the individual Trustees as well as to the whole body and at least two letters of Adam Anderson's that year had to do with the colony. One he wrote informed the Trust that the SSPCK would pay for the missionary at Darien to obtain servants who could cultivate land for him

on the condition that the land they till was the missionary's.<sup>132</sup> The Trustees, in June, authorized the Reverend Mr. Macleod to surrender his fifty acre lot at Darien for another of the same size to be granted there towards the maintenance of the missionary at Darien "for so long as the SPCK, Scotland, shall continue to support a missionary there."<sup>133</sup> While this may seem a confusing bit of wordage, the apparent purpose was to take the grant from the individual, viz., Macleod, and re-assign it as a part of the living or benefice of the Darien clergyman, whoever he might be. The other letter of Adam Anderson's which is appropriate to mention here is one which Hugh Anderson wrote to him in June in which he revealed that he had moved to a lot near Oxstead, near the center of Savannah and had cleared and planted ten acres of corn, peas, and potatoes, and four acres of rice. He had also experimented with some patches of cotton and tobacco. The corn had suffered in the summer drought, and he hoped to at least recover his investment in the crop. It was Hugh Anderson's opinion that the soil and climate would hardly provide a living.<sup>134</sup> This idea may have been the cause for a number of persons leaving the colony earlier. Stephens himself had observed, "I confess it was a matter of concern to me for a while to observe how many people have deserted this place within some months past." However, Stephens felt that a good many of the departed ones were worthless.

George Dunbar did not share Hugh Anderson's idea that the colony would hardly provide a living in a letter to Verelst in the same month that Anderson wrote. He was beyond doubt in the voyage from Gibraltar; however, his capacity on the journey is not clear. One supposes that he was the master of the Amy, since

Captain Whiting was master of the Whitaker and the third transport steered a wrong course which Dunbar would be unlikely to do. His accounting of the events after landing suggest, however, that he might have been on the Whitaker for he said that they had thirty-three from the trans-Atlantic voyage to go to the hospital at Savannah; five of these died; three were still sick, and the rest had recovered.<sup>136</sup> The men had been dispatched to the several garrisons, and he told of what the Gibraltar men had done since their arrival and of his own progress as well. They had finished small houses "14 foot by 12 foot for every six men, and I am told they are as forward at St. Andrew's."<sup>137</sup> Dunbar related that the men were "so delighted with the country that I am convinced they would not change their situation with any regiment the King has."<sup>138</sup> While the mutiny later in the year would seem to contradict this statement, it must be recalled that none of the Gibraltar men's grievances had to do with the country. Dunbar said that he had put five men to work on the "farm lot the general gave my sister at Frederica and I hope to contribute a little to remove the prejudices some industrious enemies of industry (sic) and the colony have maliciously spread (that planting will not do)."<sup>139</sup> Dunbar wanted the Trustees to allow him the passage of ten servants who would be put on board by his friends at Inverness, if there was an embarkation from Scotland. He would pay for them shortly after their arrival in Georgia. "I write to Mr. Hossack and recommend to him to send me them of the age of about 15 or 16 years rather than grown men....I intend them for my 500-acre lot on the Altamaha which the general intends to give me for what I have now on this river."<sup>140</sup>

Stephens' journal, as was stated earlier, contained an account

of life in the colony. He early began a series of trips which lasted throughout his tenure, visiting and recording doings of other areas of the colony. One of the first of these was one in February 1738 to the southward, a trip which he and Causton undertook to deliver letters to arrive at Saint Augustine by February 5. The letters were a reply to a complaint made by the Spanish that some English Indians had attacked some Spanish Indians and killed ten or eleven. Stephens carried letters saying the British would find the rascals. One of his earliest stops was at Frederica<sup>141</sup> where he possibly inspected the farm lot of Priscilla Dunbar because her brother was such a prominent member of the colony. The two colonial officers left Frederica for Darien at about 10 o'clock on the morning of February 4. There was not a good wind for the sails so they did not land until nearly four that afternoon. "I lost no time in taking a list of the inhabitants, and an account of all things."<sup>142</sup> He described Mackintosh, the principal leader as a "careful and discreet man," who gave a pleasing report "of the orderly behaviour of these people and their real diligence in improvements."<sup>143</sup> They had "laid open a good tract of land, all lots run out to the old King George's Fort, and some...the other way."<sup>144</sup> The Darien settlers planned to cultivate and plant when the time came, and while they hoped for a good season, before year's end, Oglethorpe, as was shown earlier, had to help them because of the drought. On Sunday, February 5, the Scots at Darien gathered to express their appreciation for the fact that someone had been sent to inspect their progress. The secretary replied by promising "to do them justice in what I write concerning them."<sup>145</sup>

Shortly after Stephens returned from his inspection tour of Darien and the South, he learned from his son that Captain Mackay had "taken a sudden resolution to be doing something again about his land at Joseph's Town and was setting people at work to plant what he had already cleared there, though he meant to meddle with no more, and it was suspected that he would make use of some Negroes on the Carolina side of the river, whom he might send over for that purpose."<sup>146</sup> Young Stephens had also heard that the captain had brought a good many head of cattle to range in the woods and "had placed some servants at Sir Francis Bathurst's and Augustine's (at present unoccupied) to take care of them (the cattle)."<sup>147</sup> They had taken possession of what houses they found to live in. Patrick's brother William, following the shipping trade as he had in Scotland, was then on a trip to New Providence Island in the sloop he was part owner of. In April, he returned carrying a cargo of "Brazilleta Wood, Mahogany, two thousand weight of turtle, etc. (not mentioning any rum which...might be a part of the cargo) some oranges and other fruit."<sup>148</sup> Although he was en route to Charleston, William called in at Savannah to talk to his brother Patrick. It is not too much to assume that he left a part of the cargo with Patrick and in view of the fact that rum was illegal in Georgia, surely that was a part of the remnant left at Savannah. It seems fairly obvious that the brothers Mackay had sought a new location rather than a new life.

Stephens made another exploratory trip in June with Bailiff Parker. They went up the Savannah late in the month and stayed about a week inspecting a number of holdings including Mackay's. They arrived at Joseph's Town before dark after setting out from Savannah at about 4 P.M. June 22 in a four-oared boat. They stayed

with John Cuthbert of Drakies whom Oglethorpe had sent to defend that frontier with a detachment of rangers, shortly after the Inverness ship arrived. Cuthbert had cleared and planted thirty acres<sup>149</sup> and presumably had a house of some sort which his sister who came with Thompson the preceding November kept for him. At Mackay's grant, they found fifty acres had been cleared in earlier years; about twenty four of these were planted.<sup>150</sup> They left Joseph's Town and went further up the river to Abercorn revisiting the former settlement on June 28 "where we have viewed the plantations of Messrs. Pat. McKay, Duhbar & Cuthbert."<sup>151</sup> Robert Williams, a close associate of the "Scotch Club" at Savannah, extended his esteem for the Scots to being their close neighbor.<sup>152</sup> Prior to Stephens' visit up the river, Robert had gone to the West Indies on a trading mission with Hugh Stirling, and he later became the brother-in-law of Dr. Patrick Tailfer.<sup>153</sup>

One suspects that this journey up the river may have been for the primary purpose of inspecting the lands of Mackay and Williams, for Stephens' son's report of Patrick Mackay's diligence at his grant did not square with what the secretary knew from previous weeks. Indeed, Williams, Mackay, and the other Malcontents drew Stephens' scorn because they lived in the town although their lands were distant. Too, they professed good will, but they were always "complaining of their losses in improving land, the precariousness of their tenures, etc."<sup>154</sup> to the detriment of the colony. "The chief of these are Mr. Robert Williams, settler at Grantham, Mr. Patrick Mackay at Joseph (sic) Town, Mr. Andrew Grant at Ogychee, the two brethren Hugh and William Sterling (sic) at Ogychee, and Patrick Tailfer at River Ness, all Scotchmen except Williams."<sup>155</sup> He noted that "Patrick Mackay



shows no inclination...to proceed on his settlement at Joseph Town which after two or three years' working on it, he seems to have wholly given up."<sup>156</sup> Mackay had built a small house on a town lot "which he holds in his son's name"<sup>157</sup> where he lived<sup>158</sup> and since Mackay held slaves on his Carolina plantation, he had a good chance to inform others on "the disadvantages they labour under in comparison of the advantages found by a different tenure and allowance of Negro slaves."<sup>159</sup> Andrew Grant and the Stirling brothers had quit their lands and removed their servants although they had no employment for them in town where they were all now living. Stephens was surprised at the Stirlings' move "because when I was last there, there was none in the province so celebrated for the large quantity of land they had cleared and planted."<sup>160</sup> Dr. Tailfer had never thought his land was worth regarding but hired out his servants and practiced surgery and medicine in town; he "has made money at an easier rate and few have done it so fast. In truth, men of that profession who have shown themselves skillful have always found a plentiful harvest in their own way."<sup>161</sup> Stephens felt that they considered themselves better than ordinary freeholders and showed it by their associates, who were ususally from elsewhere, their dress, and their manner of living.<sup>162</sup> Stephens and Causton fairly early in the former's residence in Georgia concluded that "the root of discontent, now, was among the club which met constantly at the Tavern, mostly Scotchmen (as I before observed) but promiscuous also and open to any that would come in the manner of a coffee house, where everyone called for what he liked."<sup>163</sup> Stephens made it his business to visit among them once or twice a week, "thinking it right to mix now and then with all sorts indifferently where I might be the better

informed of the disposition of the people." <sup>164</sup>

While Stephens obviously did not care for the Scotch Club, viz., Malcontents, he did not neglect their interests. In late November, he found that no preparations for Saint Andrew's Day had been made and advised one Jones of the Scottish custom of celebrating the day. Jones "ordered some damaged Powder (fit for all such occasions) to be delivered for the present purpose; Whereon the Scotch of best distinction all assembled at a Tavern where several others joined them." <sup>165</sup> Eleven guns were fired and several healths drunk "and all was well, which I was glad to see thinking it would produce no good if such a body of people received an opinion that they thought not worth regarding." <sup>166</sup>

Not long after the smoke of the Saint Andrew's Day cannon cleared, there came a report of widespread unrest at Darien which "had hitherto shown no makers of discontent, living quiet, and in all appearance very intent upon cultivating their land." <sup>167</sup> Now, however, there appeared to be a universal defection looming on the horizon. They were reported to be forming a delegation to visit Oglethorpe complaining of land tenure, the poverty of the soil, the absence of a market and the lack of credit for their support. They were said to want a public store set up for them and "to be allowed to make payment in lumber sawn, or in shingles, pipe staves and the like (which, if true, would unquestionably put an end to all the planting at once.)" <sup>168</sup> Stephens believed that someone had taken uncommon pains to aggravate the misfortune of the peaceable families at Darien by making them believe that they could not expect things to be any better until it could be made worthwhile to cultivate their lands. The principal propagators were making up a representation to send to the Trustees in which

they would demonstrate "that no person could carry on any improvement of land here upon the footing we now were without certain loss."<sup>169</sup> The secretary felt "that if Darien led up the dance,"<sup>170</sup> then surely there would be more discontent elsewhere.

It was not, however, the Darien Scots who led up the dance, but the Savannah contingent. A few days after hearing of the reputed discontent at Darien, Stephens encountered "pretty many of our principal Scotchmen"<sup>171</sup> with Robert Williams; Patrick Tailfer told Stephens that they had been finishing up a representation to the Trustees.<sup>172</sup> The petition which was dated at Savannah December 9, 1738,<sup>173</sup> suggests that it might, at least in part, be the one attributed to the Darien settlers, for it deals with the hardships of making a living in the colony. "None of all those who have planted their land have been able to raise sufficient produce to maintain their families in bread-kind only"<sup>174</sup> even though they had worked very hard. Those who continued to plant and make improvements "are daily exhausting more and more of their money and some daily increasing their debts without a possibility of being reimbursed according to the present constitution."<sup>175</sup> Carolinians had a distinct advantage over Georgians, the petition claimed, because across the river, they were allowed to use slaves, thus being able to produce farm and woodlands products much cheaper. All of the problems of the economy of Georgia could be resolved, it further claimed, by "immediate consideration (of the) two following chief causes of these our present misfortunes and this deplorable state of the colony."<sup>176</sup> The two were, of course, fee simple title to lands and "the use of Negroes with proper limitations."<sup>177</sup> The petition was signed by seventy persons almost at once and in all 121 signed, certainly a significant number of

the freeholders in the colony. Tailfer, Will Stirling, Andrew Grant, and Hugh Anderson were joined in adding their names to the statement by such more conservative persons as Dr. Patrick Graham and the Reverend John Macleod. In all, more than a third of the signatories had Scottish surnames<sup>178</sup> indicating clearly that the North Britons were, in fact, significant to the Malcontent movement.

The Reverend Mr. Macleod, in a sworn statement made nearly three years later in South Carolina, said that the Darien people had, in fact, talked of leaving for some northward location which would provide them with a better living in 1738,<sup>179</sup> but nothing had ever come of it, possibly because "all the people at the said Darien are so strictly watched, that this Deponent could not get away to Frederica when he was coming off; nor from Frederica to Savannah without a permit."<sup>180</sup> He also gave testimony in regard to the petition against slavery and in opposition to the Savannah representation which he said was written by a person "who had no lot in Darien, an officer in General Oglethorpe's regiment,"<sup>181</sup> who was sent, the clergyman thought, because as one of their countrymen and "formerly master of the ship in which the said People came to America,"<sup>182</sup> he would have great influence among them. Alexander Monroe, one of the signers of the Darien petition, gave a deposition in South Carolina on November 29, 1741--about two weeks later than Macleod's--saying that he was at home on his plantation two miles from Darien when he received a letter from Ronald Macdonald "sent by McIntosh More"<sup>183</sup> and delivered by the latter's son, William. Monroe was ordered into town and also directed to bring William Monro with him. "If he did so, he would be made a man of, but that if he did not he would be ruined

forever."<sup>184</sup> Monroe hastened to Mackintosh's house, arriving there at 9 o'clock that December evening to find a gathering already present. His host told him "that if he would sign a Paper ...that the said Colonel (Oglethorpe) would give him Cattle and Servants from time to time, and that he would be a good friend to as many as would sign the said paper, but that they would see what would become of those who would not sign it, for...the people of Savannah would all be ruined who opposed the Colonel."<sup>185</sup> Monroe said although he did not know what was on the paper he signed it but found out later and "became sensible of the wrong he had done."<sup>186</sup> He believed that this was the same document as "the Petition from the Eighteen"<sup>187</sup> which the Trustees had printed. Whatever the origins of the petition and the circumstances of the signatories, the fifth paragraph forecast, in a sense, the American Civil War of 1861-1865:

It's shocking to human nature, that any Race of Mankind and their posterity should be sentenced to perpetual slavery; nor in Justice can we think otherwise of it, that they are thrown amongst us to be our scourge one day or another for our Sins; as Freedom to them must be dear as to us, what scene of horror must it bring about! And the Longer it is unexecuted, the bloody scene must be greater.<sup>188</sup>

The Malcontents were not the only Scots who had problems at year's end; the Reverend John Macleod revealed his cares, which concerned his living rather than slavery, in a letter to the SSPCK on January 6, 1739. Referring to a letter from the SSPCK of July 8, 1738, which he had recently received, he mentions the society's willingness to contribute to the assigned missionary in Georgia "tho' they can't at present, go to so great a length...as the case requires, because their funds are much burdened by the number of schools they maintain,"<sup>189</sup> but the society had said it would



"cheerfully" give up to £20 sterling if that together with what the preacher could make off the land would provide a living. Macleod, whose idea it had been to surrender his grant in favour of his successor, wanted the society to purchase servants for the better support of his successors. He felt the £20 would be a "poor assistance tho' better than none at all to me, and of great advantage to the next missionary, being a servant indented for 3 or 4 years is not bought in this colony under £10 sterling."<sup>190</sup> He felt that two if they "outlived the seasoning sickness"<sup>191</sup> would not clear much ground because of the thickness of the woods. If, however, the SSPCK could purchase four servants, in due course they would be of some assistance to Macleod and his successor. Although he felt that the mission's land grant "will be worth something if the colony prospers,"<sup>192</sup> the parson's personal plight was poor indeed; he wrote that his "circumstances are so narrow that I can't furnish my servants with victuals, cloathing, tools, &c. but by borrowing from my neighbours."<sup>193</sup> He was concerned that he might die and leave outstanding debts which his creditors could not easily collect because the grant and its improvements belonged to the mission. The impoverished missionary thought, though, that even if the mission were in debt, it should be continued by another preacher, at his death, "for the poor flock would either starve or stray without a shepherd among ravenous wolves unless the Great Shepherd concerned himself in an extraordinary manner."<sup>194</sup> Reporting of a visit to Oglethorpe some ten days earlier, he said that Oglethorpe would order "the Trustees' storekeepers to give me credit for anything I stood in need of (from) the stores; 'for I know,' says he, 'your paymasters are far off.'" <sup>195</sup>

While he was with the Trustee, Macleod also complained about



not having a proper church building, only to be told that Oglethorpe had left an order and a small fund for a church to be built before he went to England in late 1736, but circumstances had prevented its being done. After his return, he had directed a carpenter to draw up a plan of specific dimension and to make an estimate of the cost which proved to be too great. "In the meantime," said the general, "I will bestow upon (the) building (of) some sort of a house to defend you and the people from the weather in time of worship, till some fund be obtained...for building you a church."<sup>196</sup> The general went on to say that one of the two funds the Trustees had was for the religious needs of the colony and also that a woman had died in Tower Street in London and left "a disputable claim of some hundreds of pounds sterling upon the East India Company to be apply'd to the use of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland."<sup>197</sup> The Trustees, however, had taken no action on the matter.

Hugh Anderson, the public gardener, joined the parson in complaining about the colony. He wrote the Earl of Egmont on March 3, 1739 expressing a thorough dissatisfaction with the colony which he called "your poor afflicted province of Georgia."<sup>198</sup> He termed "the beautiful town of Savannah" as "decaying and desolate, the greater number of its inhabitants dispersed in other parts of the world to shun misery and famine, the remainder dispirited and in want of common necessities of life."<sup>199</sup> He saw the cultivated plantations "deserted and overgrowing with brush, the villages unpeopled, manufactories given over, credit lost, and public works mouldering to destruction before they are finished ....It appears from the repeated tryalls of...years that the labour of the industrious has sooner exhausted their substance than

idleness could have." <sup>200</sup> Added to this list of complaints was one about the intense heat of summer and the thick forests which prevented, he claimed, a healthy flow of air. The cost of maintaining servants, who wanted at least a pound of meat and a pound of bread a day as well as a bottle of molasses a week, was too great. "I must say that the expenses of physicians and apothecaries is amongst the greatest grievances we labour under." <sup>201</sup> The servants, once they saw that they could not safely do the heaviest cultivation, fled in great numbers "well knowing that in all other provinces there are Negroes to undergo those labours that would be fatal to a British constitution." <sup>202</sup> Financially, his stay in Georgia had been unsatisfactory indeed, for although he had cleared, fenced and planted fifteen acres with peas, rice, cotton, tobacco and other things, his farming and the maintenance of his family cost him £150 sterling with a return of only £62 sterling. Additionally, he had had troubles with his servants: four died, and twelve had been sick for a long time. Anderson had, himself, been sick for six months and the doctor's expenses had been £50. <sup>203</sup> Anderson's complaints were backed up by an item in the Caledonian Mercury of June 25, 1739, from Scaffhausen in northern Switzerland dated June 8 (Old Style), "A great many Swiss that went over to inhabit the new settlements of the English at Carolina and Georgia are return'd from thence not being able to bear the climate nor many of the inconveniences of that country." <sup>204</sup>

In view of his discontent, it is not at all surprising to discover that on May 19, Hugh Anderson had placed an advertisement in the South Carolina Gazette which read:

Mr. Anderson having begun his lectures upon the subjects of natural philosophy, natural history, agriculture and Gardening, he requests the gentlemen

subscribers to favour him with their attendance on Monday next the 21st instant at 6 o'clock in the afternoon at the New Markethouse opposite to Tradd Street, and then to appoint the day and hour which may be most convenient for them. Subscribers may be furnished with tickets at Mr. Shepheard's at 15 s. currency each.<sup>205</sup>

They may have settled on Tuesday evenings as the day for their lectures because in late July, Anderson again advertised his classes. He said that he would on Tuesday "attend at the Markethouse opposite to Tradd Street" to explain and teach the Doctrines of the Globe and science of Geography from the hour of 5 o'clock till 7 to any of the Gentleman subscribers of the Philosophical Lecture that shall please to attend."<sup>206</sup> He opened the door to non-subscribing young gentlemen who "desire to learn that useful and necessary accomplishment of a gentlemen, may attend at the said hours paying one guinea each for the whole course."<sup>207</sup>

In addition to these advertisements and others for goods for sale and runaway slaves, notices were placed for runaway soldiers. One identifies such a runaway from Cochran's command, which he apparently retained title to though he was at London, as John Campbell, a "Scotch Highlander,"<sup>208</sup> who deserted his duty at Charleston. Three more who left Cochran's own company at Saint Simons on April 20 were John Watson, about 23; Robert Naysmith, about 24; and Lowry McLaran, 24 years; "All speak Broad Scotch."<sup>209</sup>

While the Georgia soldiers were fleeing their regiment, plans were afoot in London to shore up the King's forces abroad, and they were published at London on June 23. All London inhabitants were ordered to provide themselves with musket, bayonet and so forth "to be speedily mustered by their colonels."<sup>210</sup> A draft was expected of them, and once drafted, they would go to such places as Georgia and Gibraltar "so that such citizens as have been

ruined by a decade of trade, may carry a brown musket, and serve their country in a military capacity."<sup>211</sup>

The colony of Georgia was rather quiet in those first several months of 1739. Stephens expressed the state of the colony in his journal entry of Saturday, June 2: "All people most worth regarding looked peaceably after their own affairs and attended what would conduce to their own benefit; especially the planters whose present care was to subdue the weeds from annoying the corn &c. in its growth."<sup>212</sup> Later that month, he once again struck at Dr. Tailfer. On the grand anniversary of the Freemasons, they heard a sermon by the Reverend William Morris, A.M., and then, "they marched in solemn order to dinner at a public house, the warden Dr. Tailfer (who-likes pre-eminence as well as any) was attended by four or five with wands, and red ribbands in their bosoms as badges of their several offices."<sup>213</sup> There were only five or six others in the party.

A much longer march by a larger company and for a more serious purpose than that of the Freemasons' began Tuesday, July 17, 1739. when Oglethorpe, Dunbar, and a company of others left to go to the Uchee Town some twenty-five miles above Ebenezer to meet with some of the principal Indian traders.<sup>214</sup> At the Uchee Town, they obtained both riding and pack horses and were joined by some rangers before heading southwest into the Creek nation. When they left the Uchee Town, there were "about twenty-five persons in the company and some Indians well armed"<sup>215</sup> including two members of the Choctaw tribe. Six Scots were paid about £65.12.0 for goods and services rendered to Oglethorpe in his mission.<sup>216</sup> Two of the six suppliers, George and John Cuthbert, made the journey; the other traders were Alexander Macqueen, Mr. Mackenzie, Lachlan

Macbean, and George Mackay.<sup>217</sup> For the sum mentioned, they hired seventeen horses, supplied three pieces of stroud for the Creeks and presents for the Cherokees; they also gave provisions to both Creeks and Cherokees and had the services of four men who helped "blaze a path from Augusta to Mt. Pleasant."<sup>218</sup> With the exception of the Cuthberts, these six men seem to have all been Indian traders. By July 27, the company had reached the Great Ogeechee River "which we swam our horses over and the Packhorse Man got his things over in a Leather Canoe which they carry for that purpose."<sup>219</sup> The next day they moved on westward with "the Indians killing plenty of deer and turkeys for our refreshment also several Buffaloes, of which there is great plenty and they are very good eating. Though they are a heavy Beast, they will outrun a horse and quite tire him."<sup>220</sup> They travelled on through a country which "abounded with fine green trees and (an) abundance of grapes and other fruits, but which were not ripe."<sup>221</sup> On top of one of the hills in the first half of their journey, "we perceived a great smoke at a distance from us which we imagined to be at the camp of a party of Spanish horse...sent out on purpose to hinder us if possible from going to make this Treaty of Peace with the Indians."<sup>222</sup> They camped at the Oconee River and found a horse "belonging to one of the Spaniards."<sup>223</sup> In truth, the nearest Spaniard was probably more than 100 miles away. However, the horse did not deter<sup>1</sup> them from their trip; they crossed the Oconee "and killed two buffaloes of which there are abundance, we seeing several herds of sixty or upwards. We camped at Ocmulgas (Ocmulgee) River where are three mounds raised by the Indians over three of their Great Kings."<sup>224</sup> They were obviously following, now, the Lower Creek Trading Path, which they picked up west



of the Oconee. Continuing their westward trek, they encountered two white men, Captain Wiggins and Mr. Gudell,<sup>225</sup> and two of the more important Indians "who saluted the general in a very friendly manner"<sup>226</sup> on August 6; they were, by this time, very near Coweta Town, one of the places they wanted to visit. On August 7, they went on and "found several strings of cakes and bags of flower, etc., which the Indians had hung up in trees for our refreshment."<sup>227</sup> The next day, they camped about two miles from the Indian town; "the Indians sent boys and girls out of their town with fowls, venison, pompions,<sup>228</sup> potatoes, water melons and sundry other things."<sup>229</sup> When the Britishers went into the town, they discovered that the king had the British colours in his hand.<sup>230</sup> The king, some chiefs, and their visitors sat on logs covered with bear skins and drank a black drink made from "cassina berries."<sup>231</sup>

Afterwards, we went to the king's house or rather hut where we dined; at night we went to the square to see the Indians dance. They dance round a large fire by the beating of a small drum and six men singing, their dress is wild and frightful, their faces painted with several sorts of colours, their hair cut short (except three locks, one of which hangs over their forehead like a horse's foretop). They paint their short hair and stick it full of feathers; they have balls and rattles about their waist and several things in their hands. Their dancing is of divers gestures and turnings of their bodies in a great many frightful postures.<sup>232</sup>

About a week later, on the night of August 17, some of the British party joined in the dancing.<sup>233</sup> Whether or not the Scots tried to teach the Indians a reel is not recorded, but it seems that the red men might have enjoyed learning to "Strip the Willow."

Commenting on the social customs and dress of the Lower Creeks, the ranger wrote that the women were, in general, naked above their waistline, and wore "only one short petticoat which reached from their waist (to) a little below their knees."<sup>234</sup>



He noted that the women took good care of their hair which sometimes reached to the calves of their legs. "Their houses or huts are built with stakes and plastered with clay mixed with moss which makes them very warm and tite. They dress their meat in large pans made of earth and not much unlike our beehives in England."<sup>235</sup> The women did the planting and the housekeeping, grinding their corn in a pestle made of a burnt-out tree trunk and sifted through a sieve made of reeds. The men hunted wild game and predatory beasts and sold the skins to white traders for powder, ball, and other items.

While at Coweta Town, Oglethorpe issued an order to all British subjects that they were "not to take up or settle beyond the aforesaid limits settled by me with the Creek Nation at their estates held (the) 11th day of August 1739."<sup>236</sup> It was signed August 21, 1739 and issued in the square at Coweta Town and at Cusseta Town some two or three miles below Coweta. Arriving August 12 or 13, he stayed with Captain Wiggins and was welcomed by the king, who, like his neighbouring monarch, had the British colours in hand.<sup>237</sup> On August 21, Oglethorpe went to the town square to give the presents he had brought and "to establish that peace with them which has since been so beneficial to the English (; he) also settled the trade between the Indians and the traders."<sup>238</sup> It was here that he signed the above orders which had first been negotiated with the Indians at Coweta Town. The treaty confirmed and clarified the Treaty of 1733, defining lands ceded to the whites as "all the lands upon the Savannah River as far as the Ogeechee and lands along the Sea-Coast as far as the River St. John's and as high as the tyde flows and all the islands"<sup>239</sup> except for a strip from Pipemaker's Bluff to Savannah and the islands of Saint

Catherine's, Ossabaw, and Sapelo. Signatories to the order of August 21 and presumably to the treaty as well included ten known Scots one of whom was "Eneas McIntosh, Esqr. Brother to the Laird of McIntosh"<sup>240</sup> and thus possibly the only Highland chieftain to ever witness an American Indian treaty.

On August 25, they started out of the Indian nation and arrived at Fort Augusta on September 12, where they stayed four days before sailing six miles down river to Fort Moore where they spent the night and went on to the Uchee Town on September 17.<sup>241</sup> Their next stop was Palachacolas Garrison where they learned of what has come to be called the Stono Insurrection, a Spanish-inspired slave uprising which claimed at least three white lives. Many of the slaves involved were Portugese-speaking Angolans who had been baptized Catholics by Jesuit missionaries. In addition to the linguistic and religious kinship between the Negroes and the Spaniards, the slaves were promised, as well as runaway whites and Indians, freedom and land near Saint Augustine. The lieutenant governour of South Carolina had acted to defend the colonies in Oglethorpe's absence, and the revolt was put down.<sup>242</sup> Oglethorpe and his men went on down the river, they arrived in Savannah on September 24 and at Frederica on November 14 where they were greeted with more bad news.<sup>243</sup> Spaniards had landed on Amelia Island and killed two Trustees' servants but fled "for fear of the English coming upon them...they ran away leaving a hatchet and knife behind them." The two were both Scots; "John Mackay and Angus Macleod...went to fetch firewood; these they (the Spanish) killed and in a barbarous and unchristian manner cut off their heads and mangled their bodies in a way not to be related."

Although Oglethorpe seems not to have known of the slaughter

of the two, he was beginning to prepare for an offensive against the Spanish before he arrived at his Frederica home. From Savannah, he dispatched Thomas Eyre, who had been on the Coweta trip into the Cherokee nation, to have Samuel Brown, a trader, bring down several hundred Indians "to make use of as a diversion with the Spanish Indians in Augustine;"<sup>246</sup> He also expected a strong detachment of Creeks. George Dunbar was sent to Charleston possibly to investigate feelings there toward an attack on the Spanish; he reported to Verelst that a great many Carolinians were concerned with Georgia's business and hoped that the general could correct that.<sup>247</sup> He believed their idleness was the cause of their wanting to meddle and saw a preventive measure for Georgians. "I need not tell you that we expect work to keep us out of the indolent way of living which I believe is in a great measure the cause of the present distemper."<sup>248</sup> Dunbar was back in Savannah in late November and he apparently brought a message from Colonel Palmer in Carolina, for Oglethorpe responded, presumably in the way of an acceptance on November 22, to Palmer's offer to bring 150 men to help against the Spanish.<sup>249</sup> Dunbar did not stay long at Savannah; indeed, he and Aneas Mackintosh were en route to Fort Augusta on a mission to inquire about a band of Chickasaws who lived apart from the remainder of their people. They were daring and bold warriors, and the thirty picked men whom Oglethorpe had requested to come down would equal 100 ordinary men.<sup>250</sup> Now that George II had signed a declaration of war<sup>251</sup> with Spain, Oglethorpe no longer needed to seek an excuse for aggressions against Saint Augustine.

All elements of the community at Savannah were taking an interest in the Spanish threat in the closing months of 1739, including the Scottish thorn in Stephens' side, who wrote, in September,

"Our juntillo who sought on all occasions to distinguish themselves at all times"<sup>252</sup> decided to form a volunteer group to defend the country, but which, at the same time, would be exclusive of any commands of the local standing militia, even electing its own officers. They "made no question but gentleman volunteers would flock together under the imaginary command of Capt. Tailfer."<sup>253</sup> After two or three days, obtaining no recruits, they began to solicit members and "at length, they picked up about a dozen more ...generally loose fellows, mostly Scotch servants lately out of their time."<sup>254</sup> A bit later in the year, on October 20, Oglethorpe reported to the Trustees that their resolution allowing females to inherit property had done a lot to quell "the troublesome spirit. (Nonetheless,) the remainder of the idle walkers and Dr. Tailfer are preparing to leave the colony."<sup>255</sup> The unhappy colonists were still in the colony on November 6, for the new recorder-designate Will Williamson visited with "the committee, which continued to sit at Jenkin's, Dr. Tailfer in the chair."<sup>256</sup> On Saint Andrew's Day "which the Scotch never fail to celebrate annually, and look on it as a friendly act in such as join them; I went in the evening to show my regard for their society,"<sup>257</sup> Stephens wrote. The evening was passed cheerfully without political arguments, "the usual committee at Jenkins' well knowing that divers of their own countrymen were possessed of sentiments very different from theirs, as also were several others present."<sup>258</sup> Two weeks later, some of this committee appeared on the verge of leaving. "Messieurs Sterling, Baylie, Grant and Douglas seeing no hopes of Negroes nor prospect of settling Georgia to their own liking"<sup>259</sup> were preparing to move about fifty or sixty miles above New

Windsor, South Carolina. Few thought it a considerable loss, but "people of more discernment could not think so for what loss can it be to any place if such leave it who will not put their helping hand to no good in it?"<sup>260</sup> Jenkins' "committee" would be losing "so many trusty members who never failed constant attendance and I conceive the total dissolution of the mutinous assembly is approaching."<sup>261</sup> Tailfer was "threatening to leave us to ourselves and remove to some other island or other in the West Indies. May Georgia suffer no greater loss, and all will be well."<sup>262</sup> Tailfer's planning to go a different route from his compatriots suggests that he might still be in trouble with the Carolina authorities.

The difference between the Scots at Savannah and those at Darien did not escape the notice of Oglethorpe, who wrote the Trustees, "The Darien hath been one of the settlements where the people have been most industrious, as those at Savannah have been idle."<sup>263</sup> Several of the Trustees' servants under Mackintosh Moore's direction had been so productive in the sawmilling operation that they had saved the Trustees some money in addition to earning their own keep. There was, however, a problem with the Highlanders. "Those servants cannot be put under the direction of anybody at Frederica, nor anyone that does not understand the Highland language... They are very useful under their chiefs and no where else. It is very necessary therefore to allow Mr. Mackintosh for the overseeing of the Trustees' servants."<sup>264</sup>

The death of one of the Highlanders in the autumn struck a hard blow on the upper frontier of the colony in the last weeks of 1739. Word was received at Savannah on November 16 that Captain John Cuthbert of Drakies had died in Carolina. The general



had wanted to re-establish the rangers which had previously existed under McPherson, and made Cuthbert their commander. The outfit was to be comprised of thirty men "well horsed and armed,"<sup>265</sup> and Cuthbert, together with Lieutenant Scroggs,<sup>266</sup> had been given money and sent to Carolina to buy horses. Cuthbert "sickened and died in that country;" Scroggs took his papers and belongings, buried him, and returned. Cuthbert's death "occasioned grief to many people, being a good-natured, sprightly man, generally beloved."<sup>268</sup> It was generally conceded that he would have made a good ranger commander. "He had made considerable improvements upon his five hundred acres up the River Savannah, and was judged to have one of the best plantations yet in the colony. He died unmarried leaving a sister who took care of his house."<sup>269</sup> At the same time, his sister was dangerously ill and not expected to live.<sup>270</sup> The ever-busy Tailfer and friends could not allow Cuthbert's death to pass without comment. "Some of our wise reformers (who would in all things be meddling)"<sup>271</sup> were anxious about an administrator for Cuthbert's estate. The day after news of his death was received, Tailfer and Jenkins, the publican, alleged that they were the captain's chief creditors, only to be told that he was in debt to the Trust, too. Although Cuthbert's sister was alive, they appear to have wanted to stake a claim on the Cuthbert belongings possibly expecting her demise. Stephens thwarted the two claimants' moves by advising them that civil law allowed time for all claimants to come forward.<sup>272</sup>

Perhaps weary of the problems of the colony, Oglethorpe and 200 men set out on December 3 for the Spanish territory on what was perhaps more of a reconnaissance move than an outright attack, although, to be sure, the British and their Indian allies did



some damage before coming home.<sup>273</sup> They crossed the Saint John's, which the Spanish called San Mateo, and drove the outguards back.<sup>274</sup> Near Saint Augustine, they ravaged the countryside, but the Spanish would not come out and fight. In reporting of the venture to London, the general described nine fortifications in Spanish Florida and reported that at one, Fort Moosa "a new one of Stone ... (built) to protect the plantations they had granted to run-away Negroes who were armed and offered land in order to garrison the same."<sup>275</sup> The Spanish had fled and withdrew the blacks. He had sent Dunbar and two Scoutboats up the river to destroy what Spanish boats he could "and to view their forts and attack them if weak." Dunbar and his men rowed for twelve hours and came to where the river formed a lake (Fort Picolata) "with places above 2 leagues wide. He made a night landing and after several hours firing and three men being wounded, he felt that he would have to have a cannon and withdrew."<sup>276</sup> Oglethorpe, apparently feeling that he needed to do some preparation and planning before launching a real offensive, packed up his men and went home to Frederica where he remained through Hogmanay 1739.<sup>277</sup>

Thus, did the years 1738 and 1739 end in Georgia. The people were settled even more so than previously and planned to stay. Life was hard; servants were needed and so a number of them pleaded for slaves like the Carolinians owned, but their petition did no good. Perhaps, they felt a bit more secure because the Forty-Second Regiment of Foot was settled down to protect them from the continuing Spanish threat. Too, Oglethorpe's important journey to the Lower Creek nation was a peaceful mission. The problems of sickness, drought and financial problems were not new, but merely a part of everyday life in the colony.

Probably, the most significant thing to happen in the colony in these two years apart from the arrival of the regiment was the fact that now women could inherit property because the Trustees had changed their minds about the tail male provision. As these years ended, then, the colony was, more or less, as it had been. The years to come were another story. The trip into the Spanish territory at year's end would be repeated in a matter of months; the results would be disastrous. There would be more emigrants from Scotland and more Georgians fleeing to South Carolina. The Spanish threat continued until one day in the summer of 1742, but at year's end in 1739, Oglethorpe must have thought that Saint Augustine would fly the Union Jack before the calendar had gone full cycle.

## Chapter V

When daybreak came January 1, 1740, it opened up another year in the now seemingly endless frontier struggle between London and Madrid. In the year to come, Oglethorpe would mount a major offensive which would prove disastrous. In the beginning, however, it seemed as if the British would dominate. On New Year's Day, 1740, Oglethorpe took southward a regimental party of some 180 men and eight officers including Captain Mackay, Lieutenant Dunbar, Ensigns Mackay and Sutherland, and Adjutant Mackay together with Indians and rangers in a convoy of periaguas, thirteen boats, and a privateer sloop.<sup>1</sup> They arrived at Talbot Island on January 3, sailing from there to nearby Saint George Island at the mouth of the Saint John's River. On January 6, they went up the river and in late afternoon, about 4 P.M., landed five miles above Fort San Francisco de Pupo, where they camped for the night.<sup>2</sup> The next day, further along the river, they encountered a party of British Indians who said that they had surprised and burned Fort Picolata on the west bank of the Saint John's, some twenty-one miles west of Saint Augustine.<sup>3</sup> About ten the next morning, January 7, Oglethorpe and his forces landed four cannon within a mile of Fort San Francisco de Pupo, which was almost directly across the river from Picolata. The Indians moved in close and kept the Spaniards occupied with small arms while the cannon were being set up in a natural breastworks.<sup>4</sup> The firing was "very hot on both sides 'til such time (as) we had finished our Battery from which we began to play upon the Fort."<sup>5</sup> The British opened fire before sunset, and noticing that the firing from the fort "seemed to abate, the General sent a drum to summon them to surrender the Fort to the English which if they did they should have good quarters. Their

answer was 'take us if you can.'"<sup>6</sup> The British opened their cannon fire again; this time, the Spanish surrendered its garrison and arms. The British got two cannon, one mortar, three swivel guns, a number of glass bottles filled with powder "and artificial fireworks" and a sufficient quantity of ammunition and provision "for a long defense."<sup>7</sup> The fort itself was fairly strong, but the garrison was weak there being but one sergeant, one corporal, nine soldiers, and one Indian. The Spanish had withdrawn Picolata's garrison and part of Saint Francis' when Dunbar staged his raid in December. The general ordered Fort Saint Francis repaired "raising parapets and pallisading it all round."<sup>8</sup> He left a garrison of fifty men with arms, ammunition, and provisions to occupy the fort. In so doing, he put up a blockade against troop reinforcements from Fort San Marcos or Indians coming from Apalachee or Carolina; the fort was of great importance because it was on a widely used path.<sup>9</sup> Both overland routes merged at Picolata and crossed over to Saint Francis and thence to Saint Augustine. The occupation troops left behind appear to have been "red-coats" or British regulars. For a Spanish Indian named Juan Ygnacio and his party reported at Saint Augustine on January 21, "that all about it (Fort Saint Francis) were many people in red coats and that the said fort was in the hands of the enemy, for they saw many people go out and in and up and down."<sup>10</sup> Oglethorpe, by this time, was back at Frederica getting ready for a full scale

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siege.

Although it would appear that his plans ought to concentrate on the southern frontier, the northern boundary would require Oglethorpe's attention first. On February 13, Captain Aneas Mackintosh arrived at Savannah from Palachacolas Garrison on his

his way to see the general. He wanted to clear up his accounts and get all his responsibilities in the colony taken care of in order to go home to Scotland at the earliest opportunity. The captain had received word that his brother "the chieftain of that clan was dead or near dying and whom, as next heir, he was to succeed in title and estate."<sup>12</sup> In little less than a fortnight, he was back with the news that two men had been killed by the Spaniards while on a scouting mission in the Saint Simons area. They had been sent to scout the banks of the Altamaha River to see what they could and at the same time, they were to locate a good landing site. They were told not to go ashore or come within musket shot of the banks. Nonetheless, they saw some oranges growing and went after them. A party of Spanish and Indians appeared, and the British fled. Having passed on this and other news of the southern portion, he left for Palachacolas after spending the night at Savannah "to surrender the command to his brother whom the general had given a commission to succeed him."<sup>13</sup> The succeeding sibling, John, had been a Palachacolas ranger since at least 1737.<sup>14</sup> The laird of Mackintosh was not dead; he did not die until September 24.<sup>15</sup>

Yesterday afternoon died of a decay at his lodgings in the Canongate, the Hon. William Mackintosh of that Ilk, a Gentleman most justly and universally lamented ...He was married to Mrs. Christian Menzies, sister to Sir Robert Menzies, and cousin to his Grace, the Duke of Argyle, by whom he had children all dead. He is succeeded by his brother Aeneas Mackintosh, Esq., a young Gentleman of great hopes.<sup>16</sup>

The chief of Mackintosh, a captain in Colonel Wallan's regiment, was buried September 27 in the Chapel Royal of Holyrood House on the right hand of Sir Ludovic Grant and his son Sir Alexander Grant "betwixt the two pillars at the entry of the church door."<sup>17</sup>

About the time that Anceas sailed away home, a note of a different sort found its way into the pages of Stephens' journal. Heretofore, he had told of death, sickness, discontent, and the odds and ends of day to day life in Georgia. Now, in early March, he told of how romance emerged amongst the emigrants in the little tale of how Dr. Graham wooed Miss Cuthbert.

Mr. Patrick Graham, surgeon, who has made very considerable improvements on his lot in this town as well as been a constant planter for two or three years past, having Mrs. Cuthbert (sister to the late Captain Cuthbert, deceased) for his patient, dangerously ill in a fever at that time a lodger in his house; the doctor took the opportunity of prescribing matrimony to her as a specifick which he was sure would compleat her cure; and on consenting to take his advice in it, they were married at her late brother's plantation...We rowed up to Joseph's Town this forenoon timely enough to take part of a good dinner with them; but the ceremony of the wedding was over, the marriage performed yesterday by Mr. Norris, and consummated the same evening.<sup>18</sup>

In early April, there was an assortment of comings and goings to and from Savannah. Two of the most noteworthy were the Reverend Mr. Macleod's coming and the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's going. Actually, Macleod came to see the English preacher as well as to see the part of the country which he did not know. Whitefield, who was going off to New York on some kind of preaching mission, had little affection for the ordinary Georgia colonist considering most of them "castaways not worth regarding except the little children he has taken to himself and about half a score full grown persons, men and women."<sup>19</sup> After the Englishman sailed on April 2, the Scottish parson stayed on a few days, and on Easter Sunday, April 6, he was "pleased to give us two sermons after morning and evening prayer."<sup>20</sup>

While Macleod was polishing up his Easter sermons, Oglethorpe continued to plan for an attack on Saint Augustine. In Charleston



on April 1, he announced that he planned to defend the colonies from the Spanish by invading Florida and attacking Saint Augustine.<sup>21</sup> On April 2, he wrote the Trustees that "Carolina has voted £120,000 assistance, a regiment of foot, a troop of horse, etc., and the men of war (to) assist in taking the town of Augustine."<sup>22</sup> He appointed Colonel Alexander Vander Dussen, Esq., colonel of the regiment of foot in South Carolina,<sup>23</sup> and a little more than a week later, he was making plans to go up the country and meet a large number of Cherokees, Chickasaws, Upper and Lower Creeks and about twenty white men, because he wanted them to avoid Savannah and go by way of the Ogeechee River to rendezvous with the Carolinians at the Saint John's River.<sup>24</sup>

A little later in April, Stephens reported that he had heard many accounts of gentlemen volunteers in Carolina and elsewhere taking up arms at their own expense to fight their country's enemies. "It might have been hoped that some of our reforming gentry in their gold and silver buttoned coats and gay waistcoats would have made some little advance beyond the parade which they daily tread here....But herein only are they modest."<sup>25</sup> Stephens refers, of course, to Captain Tailfer's cadre. Not only did his aggravation with the Malcontents as a military faction continue, but also with it as a civilian nuisance. In May, he heard from Verelst that it was reported that Parliament planned an investigation into the colony, but many thought lightly of the idea.

These are some of the fruits of our detestable club which have so long been labouring to get the direction of all into their own hands; restless under any but their own headstrong will which produced that memorable representation, calculated (I am fully convinced) purely to set Williams and Tailfer at the head of the Negro trade, which they meant to be sole importers of.<sup>26</sup>

The secretary felt that since they could not have their own way they were bent on destroying the whole colony.

As Stephens fretted over the Malcontents, Oglethorpe was already on the way to conduct his seige. He set out May 3 with an attack force of 448 persons; there were 220 from the Highland Independent Company and his own regiment, the Forty-Second; 125 of the Carolina regiment, and 103 Indians--ninety-four Cherokees and nine Creeks.<sup>27</sup> They landed at Fort Saint George near the mouth of the Saint John's and began their operations.<sup>28</sup> The general took a portion of the men and went to within twenty-five miles of Saint Augustine, capturing Fort Diego and fifty men after a heated battle from the south side of the fortification. Fort Diego was more of a supply point for beef than a bona fide defence site. It was, in fact, the cowpen of a mulatto named Diego Spinoso who supplied beef to the garrison at Saint Augustine.<sup>28</sup> The large number of men captured there--fifty including Don Diego--was due to the fact that the governour at Saint Augustine had lately been supplying a sergeant and sixteen men as protection for the cowpen. Each cadre stayed one week; at the time of the British strike, there were two cadres present because the departing cadre had not left yet.<sup>29</sup> Lieutenant Dunbar and a party totalling fifty men took possession of the fort, which was about twenty miles from Saint Augustine. They were not only to occupy the fort but they were also to construct around it an entrenchment which Oglethorpe had marked out.<sup>30</sup>

The general, for some unexplained <sup>a</sup>reason, marched his men back northward to the Saint John's May 12 and went to Saint George the next day. Two days later, May 15, he left a sergeant and twelve men at Saint George while he marched the Highlanders

and others with provisions to Fort Diego. On May 16, as they arrived within sight of Fort Diego, some Spanish Indians shot and decapitated a servant who was leading Oglethorpe's horse.<sup>31</sup> The British took to the woods on foot in pursuit of them; the chase was so hard that the attackers dropped their trophy--the head. The British followed them as far as the "Negro Fort Moosa within sight of Saint Augustine,"<sup>32</sup> where they saw Spanish launches, horse and foot. When the Spaniards espied the British some two miles away, they quickly fled. The rangers captured thirty horses and discovered several houses. The general returned once again to the Saint John's apparently without calling at Fort Diego. By the time, he and his men reached the river, Vander Dussen and the remainder of the Carolina regiment also arrived that day. The general stayed there two days, taking a large party of troops on May 20 and marching to Fort Diego, reaching that site before nightfall. The march in the hot sunshine was very hard, causing several men to faint for lack of water. This shortage claimed the lives of two men, one of whom was a Highlander.<sup>33</sup> On May 28, the British detachment got to within six miles of Saint Augustine, and some Carolina volunteers actually entered and searched several houses near the town. After camping for the night, Oglethorpe retreated to Fort Diego without attacking the Spanish town.<sup>34</sup>

On June 2, 1740, the general and his troops set out southward once again and reached a fork in the road about two miles north of Saint Augustine. One branch went to the town; the other went to Fort Moosa. "Here Colonel Palmer, who attended the General in this expedition as a Volunteer, at his particular desire"<sup>35</sup> because of the colonel's role against the Spanish in 1727, volunteered to take 200 hundred Carolinians and a party of Indians and

and burn the town. Oglethorpe declined the offer saying that he "knew what he had to do; that it was the custom of Armies always to show themselves to the enemy first and to make a feint."<sup>36</sup>

The British bypassed the Saint Augustine fork and went to Fort Moosa which, since it was only one and one-half miles north of the town,<sup>37</sup> was within full view of it. The occupants of the fort, which was on a creek running between the fort and Point Quartell and upward to Fort Diego, fled to Saint Augustine when they saw the enemy approaching. "We displayed six stand of English colours on the ramparts to try (and see) if we could provoke the Spaniards to come out and give us battle,"<sup>38</sup> but they would not. The newly captured fort was "four square with a flanker at each corner, banked round with earth, having a ditch without on all sides lined round with prickly Palmetto Royal and had a well and a house within and a look out."<sup>39</sup> Moosa, first known as Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, the Royal Benefaction of Saint Theresa of Moosa, is rarely referred to in Spanish documents by any noun or descriptive term suggesting fortification; it is generally referred to as a settlement or town as in Montiano's term: Pueblo de Gracia Real, which he used in a letter to the crown in September 1740.<sup>40</sup> It was, in fact, more of a place of refuge for slaves fleeing San Jorge, as the Spanish called South Carolina, than a defense site. As early as 1688, the Spanish record that slaves were coming from San Jorge to become Christians.<sup>41</sup> Fifty years later, Montiano promised fugitive slaves that he would place them at Gracia Real where they could cultivate land and serve the king.<sup>42</sup> Thus, this appears to have been a fort in the same sense that Fort Diego was a fort; that is, it does not seem to have been planned for its potential effectiveness in the defense of

Saint Augustine but rather for the defence of its occupants, in this instance, runaway slaves whose farming skills probably surpassed their fighting ability. No doubt if they had remained instead of fleeing, they might easily have come face to face with some of their former masters.

The next day, June 3, after the British arrived, an incident happened which clearly shows that there was a dichotomy in the British ranks. A violent shower of rain fell in the afternoon, and the house inside the fort was not large enough to contain all the arms as well as a "great part of the men, yet the Carolina arms in particular being exposed were rendered unfit for action."<sup>43</sup> Some of the Carolina volunteers sought shelter from the rain and went in the house to join some of Oglethorpe's officers and men, but they were turned back out into the rain. Oglethorpe severely reprimanded his sentinel at the door, saying "that he could not be guilty of a greater crime and that he deserved a thousand lashes."<sup>44</sup> This is the first hint of a division that would have dire consequences. Before leaving for Diego that same day, Oglethorpe did some damage to the Negro Fort, as Moosa is sometimes called, "breaking down the gate, burning the house down within it and making several breaches in the wall that no party might thrust to it for cover as it was not defenceable, but rather a mouse-trap than any real shelter."<sup>45</sup>

Oglethorpe did not leave an occupation force at Moosa; instead back at Diego, he ordered "Scotch Highlanders, Rangers and some Indians with a fresh company of the Carolina Regiment commanded by Captain Bull...to march and retake possession of the Negro Fort"<sup>46</sup> on June 8. The party which was to march on June 10 was to be under the overall command of Colonel Palmer and Captain Hugh

Mackay was directed to order that all of the King's troops and "all others in provincial pay shall duly follow Colonel Palmer's orders."<sup>47</sup> The party consisted of 137 persons: Captain Hugh Mackay and the Highland Rangers, 10; Captain John Mackintosh Moore and the Highland Independent Company, 57; Lieutenant Robert Scroggs and the Georgia Rangers, 8; Colonel Palmer and the Carolina Rangers, 9; James Hewit and the Uchee Indians, 30; Thomas Jones and the Creek Indians, 10; and a sergeant and twelve men of Oglethorpe's regiment, 13.<sup>48</sup>

The warriors left on the appointed day and got as far as The Grove, a site just north of Moosa, where they spend the night and went into the fort the next day.<sup>49</sup> Oglethorpe's orders were clear:

You are to shew yourselves to the Spaniards, but take great care not to engage yourselves in suspicious places for fear of being surprised, nor to camp two nights in one place, but to keep to the thickets in the nights and the plains in the daytime; taking care at the same time that your retreat is secure, to which place you are to retire on appearance of superior numbers.<sup>50</sup>

Colonel Palmer complained before they left Diego that the party was too small; he wanted at least 200 men. The general told the Carolinian that if he did not want to head up the force, he--Oglethorpe--would send his own officer; to which the Carolinian replied, "sir, you are going to sacrifice these men."<sup>51</sup> Oglethorpe, who embarked at the same time with his regiment aboard men-of-war, may have taken some of Palmer's words to heart, for he ordered them to make smoke signals so that he would know that they had not been forced back to Diego. He also promised either to come or send orders within ten days of their departure or his landing at Anastasia Island.<sup>52</sup>

From that point on there are two widely differing versions of



what happened in the ensuing days, which led up to the British loss of the fortification: the Carolina side and the Hugh Mackay side.

According to the Carolina version, when the men reached the Negro Fort, everybody except Palmer and the Carolina Rangers went inside and began to camp. The colonel reminded those inside of Oglethorpe's orders to camp in the woods at night and told them that the fort "might prove a grave to them,"<sup>53</sup> since part of it was gone. "Mackintosh and Mackay neither paid any regard thereto, but got each to making a Palmetto hut for themselves as well as the men."<sup>54</sup> The colonel set up his camp with the Carolina Rangers outside the walls. That afternoon, still June 10, Colonel Vander Dussen saw the Union Jack from Point Quartell and sent a message by a man who swam the San Diego River, "in that place about a musket shot wide."<sup>55</sup> The message was addressed to the commanding officer "which letter was received, opened and answered by Capt. Hugh Mackay."<sup>56</sup> Mackay's answer dated June 13, Negro Fort, complained of a shortage of food and asked for a physician.

The eight pounds of bread which the General ordered to each of us will hold out no longer than till tomorrow night, and then, if we are not somehow supplied, we shall be obliged to march to St. Diego in quest of victuals which perhaps we will not find there. If it is agreeable to order the command here a supply of beef and rice to serve until the General's arrival, I am persuaded his excellency will repay the same. Our number is 133 persons. I beg leave to put you in mind of sending us a surgeon as we have a great number sick with fluxes &c.<sup>57</sup>

While Mackay was pleased to style himself as a commander by implication, he was not pleased to do the duties performed by other officers. Although his Carolina counterpart, Captain William Palmer, the colonel's son, led a party of soldiers and Indians in daily patrols, Mackay never went out but once.<sup>58</sup>

That there was a continuing friction between the two white elements can be seen in the steadfast separation of the two camps. Palmer and the rangers continued to camp outside and "from day to day perpetually blamed Capt. Mackintosh and Capt. Mackay who with the rest remained within."<sup>59</sup> The colonel told the two Scots that the Spanish could count their number from the Castillo de San Marcos and would cut their throats. This bone of contention, the absolute refusal to move, produced a daily argument between the two factions. Palmer took great pains to advise them to arise at 4 o'clock each morning and stand to arms. He went himself every morning before day, sometimes two times, to awaken the men, but usually, they paid him little attention and went back to sleep.<sup>60</sup> "This would often make Palmer very angry and he often wished he were some place else for he had never saw (sic) such men in his life."<sup>61</sup> The two Scottish captains "seemed to carry equal command and to act alike in everything. (They) observed no directions the colonel gave them."<sup>62</sup> Into this scene came eight more Creek Indians on the evening of the fourth day of occupation, June 14, 1740. They made an observation which proved to be very perceptive, for they felt that to have so few men so near the castillo was like putting something into a large mouth "to be devoured as soon as it shut."<sup>63</sup> Within a matter of hours, that large mouth would indeed snap shut, and the British who survived would be either captured or retreating.

It all began about one o'clock on the morning of Sunday, June 15, 1740. A cadre of rangers returned to the fort to report that they had heard the Spanish Indians dancing their war dance. Palmer said they must expect an encounter before daylight and ordered them to take a nap until he awoke at three or four o'clock. When

he did, he awoke them and nearly all the Rangers got up and stood at arms immediately. Palmer, then, went inside the fort, awakened the occupants and told them of the impending danger and they should stand to arms. "But as usual, not regarding him, most of them lay down again."<sup>64</sup> This infuriated the colonel who felt certain the Spanish would attack in Indian fashion. A very short while later, as Palmer stood at the gate talking to Thomas Jones, like Palmer a veteran at dealing with Indians, an advanced sentry called out that a party of men was coming. The colonel ordered the men to arms, but to withhold their fire until the Spanish fired, at which time half were to fire and fall back making room for the rest to come up. "We will kill them like dogs," he said; however, "some of the Highlanders, then upon guard in one of the bastions, fired notwithstanding directly. The enemy then poured in a large volley."<sup>65</sup> The British never recovered from that precipitate act.

The colonel and the rangers, being about twelve yards from the fort, went into a ditch for cover. Jones went inside and got the Indians into one flanker. There was great confusion inside; some were dressed, some not. Although Jones went to each flanker three times, he could not find Mackintosh or see any soldiers; he did, however, see Captain Mackay, who had "just got up in his shirt with a small sword and musket."<sup>66</sup> Jones suggested that the Scot support the gate with Highlanders, but he did not. The attackers in different parties forced their way through the gate, but due to the constant fire from Colonel Palmer and two flankers, they were turned back twice. The third time, with swords drawn, they entered, but Jones shot the leading officer, Don Jose de Aguilera at the gate. At the same time, another party entered through the breaches, and the fort was filled with Spaniards about

one half-hour daylight. "McKay immediately jumped over into the ditch with a small sword in his hand and advised all to shift for themselves. Soon after, McIntosh was carried out a prisoner."<sup>68</sup> Colonel Palmer, in a trench, was shot by a Spaniard within the walls of the fort, but he encouraged his men with his dying breath.<sup>69</sup> Those who could fled to the river's edge opposite Point Quartell. The Spanish did not pursue, but marched backwards to Saint Augustine with "upwards of twenty" prisoners "wearing in their hats, the ears and private parts of the slain."<sup>70</sup> Fifty whites and Indians were estimated to have been slain including the colonel, who was the only Carolinian slain or captured; the Spanis decapitated him.<sup>71</sup> Captain Hugh Mackay escaped with a small sword, wearing only a shirt, a pair of linen drawers, and a pair of stockings.<sup>72</sup> In a deposition sworn the following February, Captain William Palmer, the colonel's son, graphically described the injuries sustained by Mackay and the manner in which he received them, "He had a small scar across two fingers, a small prick in his Breech and the Top of his Yard,"<sup>73</sup> which he shewed, upon this deponent's perceiving a little Blood through his Drawers. And that he supposes the same was occasioned by the prickly Palmetto Royal which lined the Outside of the Ditch round the Fort, because the said McKay told him that he jumped over the Wall."<sup>74</sup>

In his telling, Mackay comes out from start to finish more of a hero than at the hands of the South Carolina investigators. On the day they arrived at Moosa, Palmer discussed with Mackay and Mackintosh the disposition of the men in case of an attack.<sup>75</sup> McKay said that he told the colonel that "the fort even before it was demolished was a very improper place to stay in," and that he felt Oglethorpe thought the same else he "would not have called

it a mouse trap."<sup>76</sup> The colonel answered "very short that he knew...the Spaniards better than the general or I... that he knew very well they would not come out to attack him and that he would stay at that post."<sup>77</sup> Mackay alleged that he modestly suggested that the general's orders were to scout the area rather than set up a post. "However, Colonel Palmer could not be persuaded to leave the dismantled fort, but gave orders to mount a guard of an officer, a sergeant, a corporal, a drummer, 15 private men and four sentinels"<sup>78</sup> for the fort itself. Additionally, he ordered one advance guard 100 yards down the Saint Augustine path who was to fire his gun if he sighted the enemy. The colonel, then, ordered the Highland rangers and Independent Company to lodge inside the fort, while the English and Carolina rangers were to lodge in the fosse'.<sup>79</sup> Mackay claimed that Palmer ordered the drum to beat to arms and the men to remain at arms until sunrise. "Though this disposition was directly opposite to the General's orders and quite contrary to what I judged should be ordered,"<sup>80</sup> Mackay, the good soldier, obeyed his commander. He wrote further that the situation remained more or less stable until June 14 when a scouting party found an old canoe, and the colonel ordered "Kenneth Baillie, cornet of my troop and two men to go to the Carolina camp at Point Quartell...with a letter to Colonel Vander Dussen,"<sup>81</sup> which informed the regimental commander of goings on at Moosa and requested provisions. Baillie returned the same night with provisions. While Baillie was on his mission, Mackay recorded that he was on night patrol to Saint Augustine's gates "and found the enemy very quiet, but the Indians were dancing."<sup>82</sup> He returned to Moosa at midnight, and when the drummer beat to arms at about 3 o'clock, he divided the men into "several flankers except the

Indians who don't love to be disturbed so early. I and Capt. Mackintosh had command of two flankers each."<sup>83</sup> During this time, Palmer came in from the fosse' where he camped and told the Scots captains "as we were walking on the Little Parade within, that the rangers in the Fosse' were under arms."<sup>84</sup> About ten minutes later, he returned to his campsite; "I never saw him after, but heard that he fell in the first fire. At about 4 o'clock, the advanced sentinel ran from his post without firing his gun as he had been ordered shouting, 'We are all surrounded with Spaniards. Lord! Where shall I go?'" An instant later, the Spanish appeared in three separate groups and opened a "very brisk irregular fire which was returned very warmly."<sup>86</sup> Mackay, then, ordered Cornet Baillie, officer of the guard, to seize and defend the demolished gate, which was done, but the enemy pressed very hard; upon which, I ordered Charles Mackay, ensign to Captain Mackintosh's Independent Company, to support the officer of the guard with twelve men and broadswords whilst I was very busy in going from one place to another encouraging the men."<sup>87</sup> Seeing neither Palmer nor Mackintosh, he thought they were both killed. However, Jones was very much in the thick of it and cried out, "Brave battle, my boys! Brave battle! To which I answered, coolly, 'We certainly shall beat the enemy.'"<sup>88</sup> When it appeared that Cornet Baillie and Ensign Mackay were likely to be overpowered, Hugh Mackay, the valiant, went to their rescue and "learned that great numbers of Spaniards had entered the fort. Here was the greatest part of the slaughter."<sup>89</sup> Not only were the British badly outnumbered by about two to one, but the Highlanders had only their broadswords "for trusting entirely to these, they left their bayonets and tar-



gets at St. Diego, so that we had no bayonets but what the Sergeant's command had....I received three slight wounds at the gate, and my party, being quite overpowered by superiority of numbers, and killed or taken prisoner, I leap'd on top of the parapet and call'd out to as many as were alive to draw off and follow me."<sup>90</sup> Mackay's aim, he said, was to get whatever men he could and "cut my way through the enemy,"<sup>91</sup> which he was able to do with Captain Mackintosh's son, William, a lad of 14.<sup>92</sup> They "miraculously" got through the Spanish force which surround the fort and about two hundred yards from Moosa met Palmer's two sons, both Carolina rangers, Jones, and twenty-three men "some Highlanders, some Indians mostly wounded and cut in a miserable manner."<sup>93</sup> These, the gallant Mackay claims to have organized into a unit and marched them to within sight of the Spanish who did not pursue the British force. They escaped because a boat that Lieutenant Colonel Cook had sent from Point Quartell to Diego was passing by and picked them up.<sup>94</sup>

The brief encounter at Fort Moosa was decidedly a Spanish victory. The attack force of 300 men commanded by Don Antonio Salgado lost only ten men; while according to their tally, they left sixty-eight enemy dead and took thirty-four prisoners.<sup>95</sup> Mackay's statistics which fail to give an accurate report of the Creek and Uchee Indians, reported these figures: Highlanders, rangers, and Independent Company, thirty-one killed, seven wounded, eleven captured, of whom one was badly wounded; Carolina and English rangers, three killed, none wounded or captured; sergeant's command, three killed, five wounded, five captured--which means that the entire command was affected--; Creeks, all killed or captured except two who were wounded; Uchees, "I can't give a true account,

several were killed, several wounded, several taken."<sup>96</sup> The British total was thirty-seven whites killed, fifteen wounded, sixteen captured plus their Indians losses. Among the dead were Colonel Palmer and Lieutenant Robert Macpherson of Mackay's unit;<sup>97</sup> among the prisoners were Captain John Mackintosh Moore, Cornet Kenneth Baillie, and Quartermaster James Macqueen.<sup>98</sup> Mackay reported that the Spanish lost two officers and twenty-five men "killed on the spot and twice that number died of their wounds, being cut and bruised in a miserable manner by the broadswords of the Highlanders."<sup>99</sup>

There is still a third account of this disaster, and some of the events surrounding it. About a year after the battle, John Mackintosh Moore wrote Alexander Mackintosh of Lothbury, "his friend and namesake staying nigh the court,"<sup>100</sup> from prison in San Sebastian, Spain, of the incident. He relates that he had had command of the Highlanders since they settled in Georgia. When the war had first begun, Oglethorpe sent for him and gave him a captain's commission for an independent company under the King's pay. He had, then, "listed seventy men all in Highland dress (and) marched to (the) siege."<sup>101</sup> Their orders were to scout near Saint Augustine and bother the enemy, while the general took the remainder of his army to an island from where they could not help the others. These orders were "punctually obeyed...until several hundred Spaniards sallied forth out from the garrison one hour before daylight."<sup>102</sup> Mackintosh claims that they were not surprised "for we were all under arms ready to receive them which we did briskly keeping a constant firing for a quarter of an hour."<sup>103</sup> When the Spanish pushed on with their large number, the British "was obliged to take our swords until the most of us was shot and

and cut to pieces...We had but eighty men."<sup>104</sup> The rest of the British force could see them but could not help because they were under threat of enemy guns. The Spanish took "twenty prisoners, a few got off, the rest killed on the spot besides several wounded. We were all stripp'd naked of clothes, (and) brought to Augustine where we remained three months in close confinement."<sup>105</sup> From there, they were sent to Havana<sup>a</sup> for three months where the officers had the freedom of the city during their confinement. From Cuba, they were sent to San Sebastian, where Mackintosh, although he had been recommended by the Havana governor<sup>u</sup> as a captain of foot, was put in "close confinement in the town jail and my allowance (was) bread and water."<sup>106</sup> He claimed that were it not for the King's allowance of six pence daily, he and the others might starve. "You are to know I left a wife and seven children in Georgia for ought I know starving, for all my servants was (sic) listed to make up the company. There is a son of Coribrough McQueen's and a nephew of Duncan's here who was ensign in a troop of Rangers belonging to the Trustees as also one MacDonald who has a family in Georgia."<sup>107</sup> The captain wanted the four of them exchanged for Spanish prisoners in England and "not a little credit to help us in clothes and a better living which we want much."<sup>108</sup> Mackintosh's life as a prisoner had declined appreciable from the first days of his captivity back in Florida, for he wrote Oglethorpe two days after his capture that

the Spanish governor used the Gentleman-Prisoners with great civility, that they eat at his excellency's table, and that as the Gentlemen aforesaid had not other cloaths than what they had on when taken, the Spanish governor also spared them his own linnen, &c. and gave Captain Mackintosh leave to visit all the English prisoners every day; and lastly that Ranald MacDonald, who was wounded in the action was taken great care (of) and lay in the Governor's house. <sup>109</sup>

While Mackintosh's news from Saint Augustine was reassuring to the general in that he now knew that they--the captured--were well treated, he had, closer at hand, a disturbing item. Captain Hugh Mackay wanted Oglethorpe to convene a court-martial, which the general refused by saying that since Palmer was dead, it would be "barbarous to expose his conduct, who paid for his follies with his life."<sup>110</sup> Four days after the battle, Oglethorpe took a detachment of men from his regiment on Anastasia Island to Point Quartell for where they crossed over to Moosa. The general ordered "the dead bodies of the Highlanders and others to be buried with the usual military ceremonies. We found the Spaniards had buried their dead in great heaps, but left the bodies of our people above the ground."<sup>111</sup> It was thought that the number of dead on both sides was not more than 150.

Although the debacle of Fort Moosa was clearly the result of Augustinian forces, the British must share the blame for their own defeat. John Tate Lanning, an authority on Spain in the American Southeast, writes that "one cause of the failure of British expeditions against the Spanish Empire in the eighteenth century was the haughty disdain of the British army officer for the colonials."<sup>112</sup> Thus, Oglethorpe and his officers from London and Gibraltar could not gain the esteem of the colonial troops and were not satisfactory commanders of them. Oglethorpe's councils of war were not called because he felt scornful of colonials. This was especially unfortunate because the Carolinians were better adapted to frontier warfare by virtue of their experience. "The British were victims of their own scorn in ways they never realized."<sup>113</sup> Professor Lanning opined further, "The internal evidence indicates that Palmer gave the right orders;...Mackay

was both a demonstrable liar and an arrogant officer."<sup>114</sup> Certainly, Oglethorpe must bear considerable blame for the mismanagement of the siege in general. He marched the troops back to the Saint John's twice without valid reason. He would not allow Palmer to attack, and his idea of a feint is, at best, eccentric. The investigation into the maneuver by the committee appointed by the more provincial lower house of the South Carolina Assembly was done with considerable care. "No committee so intimately and profoundly involved ever proceeded with greater objectivity."<sup>115</sup> The committee report "found the principal causes of the failure of the expedition to arise from the very person who endeavoured to fix it on the misconduct of Carolina,"<sup>116</sup> viz., Oglethorpe.

Whatever or whoever the cause, the plain fact of the matter is that there was a lack of effective leadership in planning the whole siege. After Moosa's dead were buried, the various officers advanced differing opinions on the next tack. The men-of-war were scheduled to leave on July 5, and Commodore Vincent Pearse could not be persuaded to remain, although he would return after the hurricane season had passed in the autumn, Oglethorpe requested the naval officer to leave 200 men behind; he refused because this would leave his ships short-handed.<sup>117</sup> On July 4, the general decided to call a halt to the procedures and ordered a retreat; two of Pearse's warships stayed to protect the British withdrawal of Vander Dussen's men from Anastasia Island to Point Quartell on July 9.<sup>118</sup> By July 15, the entire British command was back at the old camp site on the Saint John's River. Oglethorpe received, at this locale, correspondence from South Carolina saying that more troops, cannon and a schooner were en route to him; this inspired the general to plan an attack on Saint Augustine. By July



20, the regulars of the Forty-Second Regiment had become thoroughly disenchanted with the situation and commenced to desert; the next day, a great many soldiers threatened to flee unless they were removed to Georgia, which movement began the next day. Colonel Vander Dussen moved his men out by ship, also calling at Saint Simons on July 28th to take on fresh water and supplies before heading home on August 3rd. They arrived in Charleston on August 13th, and it was not long before an investigation was being called for there.<sup>119</sup>

The general remained for the most part of the next few months at Frederica and recovered from the damage done to his ego and his health. While he was languishing in Georgia, Montiano, in Saint Augustine, wanted to seize the moment and act against the British even further. He wrote Guemes in Havana in July 1740, that twelve English deserters agreed that Oglethorpe had gone for reinforcements "with the intention of returning upon this place next spring."<sup>120</sup> Montiano believed that the Carolinians were too annoyed with Oglethorpe to give further aid, but he was aware, too, of the possibility of his getting aid from Europe. Allegedly, 2,000 men were to come. While they were coming seemed to be the appropriate time to head northward and wipe out the Englishmen.

This was the moment to exterminate General Oglethorpe with his regiment and force him out of Georgia with force but little stronger than those I have here, for his troops are discontented and he would get but little help from Carolina by reason of the same discontent, and fear of their Negroes.<sup>121</sup>

The Saint Augustine governour had praise for his commandant of the Moosa encounter. Don Antonio Salgado "acted like a true officer, profiting by their discharge to take them disarmed as it were, one which he entered the work in safety."<sup>122</sup> The Spaniard



was not in accord with Oglethorpe's notion of Moosa as being a "mouse-trap," he said that it was "capable of much resistance.... This affair destroyed the settlement of Scotchmen and people in whom Oglethorpe had complete confidence." <sup>123</sup> The Saint Augustine commander reported that Captain Fandino, presumably the same person who amputated Jenkins' ear, "is not fit to command the galliots ...because he had been remiss in obeying." <sup>124</sup> If he had taken a little risk, Fandino could have dismounted the principal British battery and prevented the escape of some of the English vessels "and other good things." <sup>125</sup>

A great many of these goings on were reported in the Scottish press; between March 8, 1740, and October 2, 1740, problems of the colonial defense was the subject of more than a dozen passages in the Mercury. These were the customary printing of letters from abroad, correspondence from Wye, and reprints from other journals. At times, they were reasonably accurate; at times, they were far-fetched. For example, Wye wrote May 6, that the Spanish had invaded Georgia and "killed many of its inhabitants, and fomented an insurrection of the Negroes in Carolina, who murdered divers families." <sup>126</sup> Oglethorpe, then, allegedly mounted a campaign against the Spanish and came home after three days "on the Spanish main annoying the enemy, making inroads to their very forts, and killing and taking all they found in the open country." <sup>127</sup> Although Wye's letter begins with the notation "From Georgia, Feb. 23rd," <sup>128</sup> it is readily obvious that the information is somewhat confused, and in the instance of the Spanish invasion of Georgia, it is apparent that the lightning strike at Amelia in which two Scots were left dead is the point of reference. In September, Wye wrote that the "siege of Saint Augustine is not raised, that

the Government are raising forces to send thither."<sup>129</sup> The warships were to return in September when the hurricane was over. He added that the Negro Fort had been taken by 500 Spanish who defeated 100 British whites and thirty British Indians. In October, the Mercury carried part of a letter from South Carolina dated July, which was highly critical of Moosa:

We are so much dissatisfied on account of their expedition that the General Assembly are called and a committee appointed to enquire into the misconduct of it, and the report of the committee will be published. The military conduct in their motions seemed to be so irregular and without meaning as scarce to be described; no siege since that of Troy has been so romantick. The Scots Highlanders who went from Inverness to Georgia had the Greatest Blow, being detached from the main body. The Spaniards being informed of this sallied out, to the number of 250 and attack'd them in the night-time, and of 140, kill'd 47 and took 23 prisoners, most of them Highlanders under the command of one Mackintosh who is now prisoner in St. Augustine.<sup>130</sup>

Throughout the siege, Stephens stayed home in Savannah and according to his journal, things in the northern sector of the colony were more or less the same as they usually were. While the Darien Scots were getting themselves killed and captured, the Savannah Gaels were turning to horse-racing, the secretary, writing in late June, noticed that the sport was "promoted by that desperate crew whose whole study and employment was to disturb the quiet of the place."<sup>131</sup> The quarter-mile stretch ran through the heart of the city from the public garden gate to Johnson Square. Foremost amongst the punters were Doctor Tailfer and his associates. In July, after word of the events at Moosa had been received, Tailfer and Jenkins, the publican, decided to move their families out of harm's way,<sup>132</sup> but they moved somewhat slowly, for on August 26, he wrote that Tailfer was "preparing in earnest to leave us ...the club must thereby come to an end."<sup>133</sup> Between September 2

and 16, while Stephens was visiting on Saint Simons Island, Tailfer, Grant, Douglass, William Stirling, "Baylie," and Jenkins had left while he was gone. "Thus, we at last see an end of that cursed club which has so long been the bane of this place."<sup>134</sup>

For all their going off, the Malcontents did not lose touch with Savannah and Georgia. Their influence was still felt in the colony, too. In late October, Benjamin Mackintosh, a veteran of Moosa, and known to be an intimate "of our late disaffected club"<sup>135</sup> had been in town with one of his kinsman from Darien for several days. The secretary thought that the general was displeased at the departure of Mackintosh and his companion at that particular time. Stephens and Jones inspected the Trustees' books and discovered that the two owed a sizeable amount; he ordered the guard not to let a boat go during the night lest the two flee. The only place they could escape to by boat was to Carolina.<sup>136</sup> About a week later, Fallowfield, the magistrate, was upset because Stephens had not consulted him prior to calling a special court authorized by the Trustees and went off to Andrew Grant's house. Grant was "one of the principal members of the late memorable club which broke up and dissipated."<sup>137</sup> He was supposed to have moved to Charleston, but that was a ruse for he was known to have been in town after his companions left. He lived quietly and was seldom seen, but Stephens thought that Grant and Fallowfield were daily companions and were a source of intelligence for those who had gone to Carolina.<sup>138</sup>

With the South under the threat of danger from Spanish reprisal, things were pretty much the same in the middle part of the colony, one's attention is turned next in the latter days of 1740, to the upland portion of the colony and that sector had had its

share of bloodshed, too. On September 21, Lachlan Mackintosh, commander at Fort Argyle, reported that while he had been on a recent business trip, somebody had broken into the fort, broken open all the chests and boxes and cut the throat of his dog. Later, the body of his manservant was found floating in the river without its head; his woman servant was abducted and later murdered. At first, Stephens was suspicious of Mackintosh because he was "very much disturbed;"<sup>139</sup> he appointed, unknown to Mackintosh, "a watchful eye"<sup>140</sup> as a companion. His suspicions increased the next day because Mackintosh gave a deposition which differed from his statement of the preceding day.<sup>141</sup> Nonetheless, an investigating party found the fort to be much as Mackintosh said it was. The culprits were found to be William Shannon, who had been removed from the Forty-Second Regiment, and a Spanish doctor, both lately escaped from the Savannah gaol.<sup>142</sup>

Thus, did the curtain fall on the year 1740 in Georgia; the new year was not one of great military activity. Both Spaniard and Briton were non-aggressive, although the Spanish did begin to prepare a campaign for 1742 at the direction of Philip V. While the two Spanish governours, Montiano and Guemes, disagreed on the nature of the offensive, but in 1740 and 1741 both, the Spanish were frequent captors of English ships. With letters of marque and reprisal granted them by Montiano, privateers from Cuba and New Spain preyed on English vessels chiefly off the coasts of Carolina and Georgia. During 1741, British prizes were commonly seen in the harbour of Saint Augustine.<sup>143</sup>

At the year's <sup>g</sup>beginning, however, a continuation of the efforts of the Malcontents to malign the colony was more clearly at hand than Spanish efforts. In January, there appeared a notice in the

South Carolina Gazette announcing that "A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia in America from the first settlement thereof until this period"<sup>144</sup> was in preparation and would soon be published "by several Gentlemen landholders in Georgia at present in Charleston."<sup>145</sup> The proposals for the publication were available from Hugh Anderson, master of the Free School, and David Douglass at Messrs. Steel & Hume's, merchants.<sup>146</sup> Anderson, the former public gardener in Georgia, in addition to being a school master and co-author, had also been elected senior warden of Solomon's Lodge, Free and Accepted Masons at its meeting the previous December.<sup>147</sup> The notice in the Gazette does not mention Tailfer, but his name tops the other two on the 'authors' list.<sup>148</sup> The little booklet covers some seventy-seven pages; however, not all of the text is original. Indeed, there is reproduced the original charter of the colony which takes up sixteen pages; the complaints dealing with the absence of slaves and rum use another half dozen; correspondence to and from the Trustees to one or more of the complainants and assorted other items account for still more pages. As a piece of writing, the short tome is no better or no worse than other eighteenth century writing; the dedication to Oglethorpe is, in fact, a rather good piece of satire. An example of some of the droll wit the Scots employed is to be found in this passage:

Your excellency's concern for our perpetual welfare could never permit you to propose such transitory advantages for us. You considered riches like a Divine and Philosopher, as the irritamenta malorum and knew that they were disposed to inflate weak minds with pride to pamper the body with luxury, and introduce a long variety of evils. Thus, you have protected us from ourselves, as Mr. Waller says, by keeping all earthly comforts from us. You have afforded us the opportunity of arriving at the integrity of the Primitive Times, by entailing a more primitive policy.<sup>149</sup>



The little book "as a satire and expose' on conditions in colonial Georgia, has won somewhat surprisingly, and perhaps not wholly deservedly, a niche in the history of early American literature."<sup>150</sup> It is nothing more than a partisan grievance listing the problems of the infant colony. It blames the disappointing progress on the "sanguine and misleading description of its soil and climate by the Trustees,"<sup>151</sup> the absence of fee simple land titles, and the prohibition of Negro slaves. Also held to blame for the lack of progress were the restrictions on selling or leasing one's own property, the enormous difficulty of supporting a family on a fifty-acre lot, the high quit-rents, "anomalies in the legal system, especially Oglethorpe's assumption of the power to nominate magistrates,"<sup>152</sup> the poor methods used in wine and silk production and "the assigning of definitive tracts of land without regard to its quality or the settler's capabilities."<sup>153</sup> Trevor Reese, the late British colonial historian, considers much of the book's criticism well-founded, although it was abusive of Oglethorpe and Causton.<sup>154</sup> The one really false problem that the Malcontents reported was the quit-rent. The first ha'penny of quit-rent was not due until 1743, ten years after the first grant was taken up.

Although the pamphlet does not seem to have stirred up much fuss, the Trustees did see fit to issue two contradictory statements. One by Benjamyn Martyn was entitled, "A True and Impartial Enquiry into the State and Utility of the Province of Georgia" and was both a defense against the allegations of the Carolina narrative and a "piece of promotional literature in the now-vital campaign to secure assistance from Parliament."<sup>155</sup> The second was also by Martyn and called "An Account shewing the Progress of



the colony of Georgia in America from its first Establishment." This writing is more of a direct rebuttal to the arguments put forth by the Malcontents offering ten sworn documents endorsing the colony as a good place to live. In addition to statements by Hugh Mackay and John Cuthbert, it includes the entire texts of the anti-slavery petitions from the Salzburgers at Ebenezer as well as the Scots at Darien.<sup>156</sup>

What lasting effect this battle of words had on the colony is difficult to ~~appraise~~<sup>appraise</sup>. There is no doubt that the long-standing opposition to the tail male system of property ownership was reinforced; it was, in fact, abandoned in March 1742.<sup>157</sup> The attacks on Oglethorpe did not significantly affect Oglethorpe's career; the forthcoming encounter with the Spanish and subsequent complaints would lead to his recall in 1743. Slavery was not allowed until 1749, and then it was in a highly controlled form.<sup>158</sup> The quit-rents, if they were ever collected, amounted to no more than a few pence a year for most landholders. Thus, the grievances of the Malcontents were, in due course, redressed; however, one must wonder how many of the 117 complainants who first signed the 1739 petition and whose views were more or less articulated in "A True and Historical Narrative" were alive and in Georgia to reap the harvest.

For all of the grievances and the Spanish threats, there were still efforts at recruiting being made. In April, there began the first movements to prepare the last shipload of Scots to come during the colony's first decade. At a meeting of the common council on April 24, it was noted that "Mr. Grey, a Scotch Gentleman, recommended by Capt. Hugh Mackay attended to know our pleasure concerning the bringing (of) 40 Highlanders to embark

for Georgia."<sup>159</sup> The cost would be £50 to recruit and clothe them, six pence daily for maintenance until they were put on board for Gravesend, and six pence daily for subsistence until they could be put on Captain Thompson's boat which was expected from Georgia by July. Grey offered to conduct them to Georgia for £30, "it being necessary that some conductor should go with them to Georgia; otherwise they might mutiny neither do they speak English."<sup>160</sup> The conductor also expected the Trust to pay his passage out and back, in addition to £4 for "conveniences in his passage,"<sup>161</sup> and a grant of 500 acres in the colony, if he chose to remain there. If he claimed his grant, Grey wanted his conductor's fee paid there; otherwise, he would collect it on his return. The next day it was recorded in the common council minutes: "Agreed with Mr. Grey upon the terms proposed by him for engaging 25 Highland men and 15 Highland women to be carried to Georgia, and gave him a paper of encouragements they are to receive at their arrival in Georgia where they are to be settled as Freeholders at Darien."<sup>162</sup>

Grey seems to have gone back to the Highlands to do his recruiting, but he was longer in the completion of than he had thought he would be, for July 23, 1741, he wrote to Verelst from Aberdeen saying that he had thirty-six "full heads" and nine children.<sup>163</sup> Grey planned to embark the next day for the Thames and they arrived on the morning of August 13. Verelst sought to have them lodge at the spare barracks at Tilbury Fort across the Thames from Gravesend, but his request was declined.<sup>164</sup> On August 23, the Committee of Embarkation agreed upon a ship for the Highlanders and a group of Salzburgers who were also going. The ship, the Loyal Judith, Captain John Leman, master, was a sixteen-gun, 250-ton vessel carrying forty recruits from Oglethorpe's regiment.<sup>165</sup>

There were sixty-three Salzburgers, including a surgeon, and forty-three Highlanders, making thirty-seven heads--sixteen men, twelve women, six boys, and nine girls. "Among these were 4 cowherds, 1 fisherman, 9 labourers of whom 2 also (are) cowherds, 1 tailor and 1 woodcutter."<sup>166</sup> While he was at London, Grey asked for and got £23.0.6 more than the £120 he had contracted for, "there being expenses he could not avoid making by reason of the extraordinary price of provisions in Scotland and a longer time spent in engaging the people and bringing them down than was expected."<sup>167</sup> Grey did not go to the colony with the Highlanders, instead John Terry became their guide. The committee or embarkation of the Trustees inspected the ship before it took aboard its passengers on September 21. Of the forty-three Highlanders, two could speak English.<sup>168</sup> Along with the Loyal Judith, there sailed the Europa, Captain Wadham, with 172 Swiss and German emigrants aboard, and the Rye, man-of-war, which served as an escort.<sup>169</sup> Verelst wrote Stephens a list of the Highland party<sup>170</sup> and an account of money which was payable to them in Georgia for a year after their arrival in lieu of all other expenses and provisions.<sup>171</sup> Males, twelve and over, were allotted eight pence a day; females, twelve and over, had six pence a day; and children, six to twelve, had a four pence daily allowance. Egmont, too, recorded the passenger list, but apart from variations in the orthography of the names, there is no appreciable difference between Verelst's listing and Egmont's. Only two have an additional notation by Egmont. The hunter, John Macdonald, is identified as a "late freeholder of Savannah."<sup>172</sup> His wife is listed as "dead, 5 August 1742."<sup>173</sup> Most of Egmont's listing also includes either the designation "Scotch" or "Highlander."

John Terry wrote Verelst on December 28, 1741, saying that the ships had got safely to port in the new world<sup>1</sup> on December 2. "All the Salzburgers shipped in London on board our ship landed here in very good health...the recruits also...As to the Highlanders, we lost six or seven, children included, the rest landed here in extreame good health."<sup>174</sup> The Europa had landed on December 4, bringing the sad news that forty of its passengers had died.<sup>175</sup> In June of the following year, Terry, now residing at Frederica, where he had been appointed recorder,<sup>176</sup> wrote Verelst a somewhat lengthy account of the voyage, explaining his delay by saying that he had been at Frederica since January 12 and had had little time to write. Without giving a reason for his judgement, he wrote, "I am sure that no place in the world is so famous as Georgia for uncommon artifice and deceit...;"<sup>177</sup> nonetheless, he was thankful to the Almighty for "our good passage and safe arrival to this colony, for I never expected to reach it...."<sup>178</sup> The Loyal Judith had been short of sailors, "we had but six men besides the captain and mate and two of them hardly knew where to find a rope, (we also had) three boys and an old decrepit cook of 70 years of age who was not able to stand. (This) was all the ship's company which required at least 18 or 20 able sailors."<sup>179</sup> Terry, "being pretty well versed in sea affairs,"<sup>180</sup> helped the crew as did the recruits, although he complained that his fatigue, at that time, was too great to be expressed. "The many waves that have washed me and the many hurricances of wind and torrents of rain I have withstood in pulling and hauling ropes in this voyage"<sup>181</sup> had impaired his health. He goes on to ask if Mr. Viger got £25 and his passage for coming with the Salzburgers "and



Mr. Gray fifty pounds to come with the Highlanders in case I had not been (able) to come in this ship, what is (it) then I deserve?" <sup>182</sup> In addition to his complaints of the voyage and his inquiry about payment, he sent a listing of the deceased.

Here follows a list of such as died in the voyage, vizt., a male of George Eigel, aged 18 months; <sup>183</sup> Bernard Klocker's son, aged 4 yrs. & a half; <sup>184</sup> the wife of Norman Macdonald, aged 29 yrs.; Daniel Mackay, labourer, aged 32 years; Anne Murray, a single woman, aged 18 years; Catherine Mackay, aged 6 yrs., and Anne Cotton, a single woman, aged 23 years. This Anne Cotton is the person for whom (I) bought the clothes that are charged in my account, hers having been blown overboard (while) they were hanging up to dry, and she then was naked in bed. If she had lived, she would have paid for them. As to Mary Jollif of which I have wrote you about, I phisickt her as well as I could & so brought (her) here. <sup>185</sup> She hath already changed husbands three times, I heard....

In addition to persons, the Loyal Judith also carried a goodly supply of work tools for the Highlanders. There were two loose grindstones, eighteen shovels, eighteen New England axes, <sup>186</sup> eighteen narrow hoes, eighteen broad hoes, and eighteen hatchets. Additionally, there was a variety of carpenter's tools: several types of saws and planes, hammers, drawing knives, and 12,000 nails of various weights. They were obviously equipped to fell timber and build houses. The Trustees provided for every man entitled to a fifty acre grant to get two hoes, a felling axe, and splitting wedges with "a ring for a beetle" <sup>187</sup> and should be paid for his subsistence in Georgia at the rate of eight pence a day for one year from the time of his arrival." <sup>188</sup>

Terry's claim for the \$25 conductor's fee was allowed by the Trustees, "it appearing that the said Terry was very careful and instrumental in preserving the health of the said passengers." <sup>189</sup> The passengers had been destined for Darien; whether or not they did go there is not clear. One thing does seem clear, however,

and that is that in this party of emigrants someone with good Mackay connections was at work, for eleven of the forty-three are surnamed Mackay, and assuming that Christian Lossley had been married to a Mackay (her daughter is Katherine Mackay), there were twelve. Add to that the families of Anna Mackay Cogach and Elizabeth Mackay Macdonald, eight apart from the women themselves, and the number of known Mackays aboard becomes twenty or 46.2 per cent. Verelst records that "Capt. Mackay" was consulted about sending the Highlanders to Darien and that he assisted in sending them from Scotland.<sup>190</sup> Although one finds no reference to the captain's first name, one supposes that this is the ever-in-the-midst-of-things Captain Hugh Mackay, for the said officer was granted a £50 credit with John Hossack & Co. at Inverness in April 1741. Too, he was sent to England on November 19, 1740, with letters for Newcastle, Walpole, and Verelst.<sup>191</sup> While he and Grey were up in the Highlands recruiting, Captain Thompson arrived from Georgia with a packet for the Trustees which included a list of the Darien residents as of June 1741, a receipt of pay for the Highland Rangers, and a letter from Francis Moore asking that he be paid £5.2.8 "advanced by him to Alex McGrewer for bringing servants from Scotland wherein McBane Employed him."<sup>193</sup> Macgruer was a Trust servant killed at Fort Moosa.<sup>194</sup> Thompson stayed in Britain for several months and dined in October with the Trustees at which time he reported that the Darien people had described themselves as being "very easy and contented, but one or two families were deserted to Carolina which were such in their own esteem Gentlemen and never contented."<sup>195</sup> He told them that the Reverend Mr. Macleod left the colony for Charleston in June "out of discontent and laboured to induce the rest also to desert."<sup>196</sup> The Darien



people had turned into profiting cattle keepers and sold the soldiers large amounts of butter and milk. Patrick Graham, who had prescribed matrimony for Miss Cuthbert's ills, had quit practicing medicine and was "so industrious a planter that he maintained himself." <sup>197</sup>

Thompson was not so kind in referring to the Malcontents and "that vile crew of people" <sup>198</sup> at Savannah. The ship captain had seen Tailfer, Douglass, and Hugh Anderson at Charleston, and the latter two were not enjoying great success there. "The merchant who employed Douglass said he was tired of him and but for mere charity would turn him off...Anderson was losing his credit (by) giving himself with the other two to politicks;" <sup>199</sup> children were being removed from his school. "Tailfer had no business in the way of his profession and all three were so despised and neglected by the gentlemen of Carolina that they would not keep them company." <sup>200</sup> The threesome had two or three companions, who also had fled Georgia, and they frequented the public house which the former Georgia publican Jenkins had set up. Jenkins had probably set up his new tavern to help keep an eye on Tailfer and company, for one Georgian suggests that Jenkins had moved with the others for economic rather than ideological reasons. It seems that the landlord had granted so much credit to them that he could not afford to let them get away for fear he would not recover his money, and thus, not be able to pay his own debts. <sup>201</sup> The Malcontents had never been famous for their success in matters related to work and money. Egmont, in an argument with Thomas Stephens, son of the secretary and a Malcontent sympathizer, claimed that only the Stirling brothers and Andrew Grant had tried to farm their lands. He also claimed that instead of using their own servants,

they were hiring them out to others at more than they themselves were paying for their indentures. "They were busy squandering their money in balls, nightly clubs, and freemason's feasts."<sup>202</sup>

Although they may not have been famous for their industry, one of them was getting ready to conduct a medical practice in Charleston in 1741, and if one is to believe the good doctor, his specialty was the treatment of dysentery or bloody flux. "As all the different methods hitherto known of treating that distemper very often prove unsuccessful."<sup>203</sup> Tailfer wanted the public to know that he had "happily discovered...a medicine which may truly be called...a certain remedy in these cases."<sup>204</sup> His medication consisted of extracts of gums, roots, and stomachic aromatics which "has never fail'd of its desired effect, viz. stopping the flux when used in time, i.e., if the patient was able to take a sufficient number of doses."<sup>205</sup> His surgery was located at his home, which was Captain Cooper's tenement "next the lane opposite to the Pond in Church Street."<sup>206</sup> He remained at Cooper's tenement for several months, moving his practice in December to Captain Beale's house in King Street.<sup>207</sup> He continued to advertise his cure for flux, claiming, "The good success of my method of cure for fluxes of all sorts will sufficiently prove what I asserted...for none of all those who have...been under my care, have missed of a cure."<sup>208</sup>

When Tailfer first began advertising his cures, one of his fellow Scots would have done well to be able to avail himself of such remedies, but he was too far away. In an announcement that proved to be in error, the South Carolina Gazette reported in an item dated Charleston, June 11, reported that Captain George Dunbar had died at Augusta after a few days' illness.<sup>209</sup> Dunbar,

who was on a mission to the Indian nation for the general, was, in fact, quite ill in early June and late May at Augusta. On June 3, Stephens, at Savannah, learned that Dunbar was seriously ill in Augusta and might not recover.<sup>210</sup> On June 8, he learned that the captain was still bad off; <sup>211</sup> however, on June 23, Dunbar sent word that he was well enough to continue on his journey.<sup>212</sup> The remainder of Stephens' journal for that year is not particularly remarkable; he seems to have missed the Scotch Club, for now he was without any readily identifiable element to attack. While they were away in Charleston now, he still managed a bit about them in his notes from time to time. On January 27, 1741, he mentioned the advertisement for "A True and Historical Narrative" and described the authors as "some of the chosen people"<sup>213</sup> who left because the Saint Andrew's daily club could not manage everything and now with maliciousness and rage sought to vilify the colony in any way they could.<sup>214</sup> By late June, he had a copy of "the famous or rather I should say infamous narrative...I find almost as many lies as pages."<sup>215</sup>

While he was attacking the Scotch Club, he did not omit individuals who were closely associated with the Charleston group. In particular, he singled out Captain Patrick Mackay and inferred that he was an opportunist. In early January, the secretary noted that Mackay had bought Whitefield's sloop in Charleston and married the widow of Samuel Montaigut, a merchant.<sup>216</sup> He passed through Savannah harbour at that time with a cargo of European goods "as wll for back as belly"<sup>217</sup> on his way to Saint Simons. Mackay brought his bride back to Savannah in April, and Stephens observed "that trade he was upon would be easy to learn of (by) a man so crafty and reserved in all his affairs."<sup>218</sup> The

Widow Montaigut's dowry had included a plantation which promptly became known as Patrick's. Dame Fortune did not smile on Patrick the whole year, for before year's end, he had a supply of fine materials stolen from a Charleston house called "Petit Versailles."<sup>219</sup>

As was his custom, Stephens reported peculiar happenings in the colony, and one that he recorded August 7, 1741, told of the death of Donald Stewart, a guardboat crewman under Noble Jones' supervision.<sup>220</sup> The crew had landed for a rest on Ossabaw Island, and one <sup>of</sup> the men, Stewart, failed to return to the boat. The other crewmen went looking for him and "found him dead with his gun lying by him, the muzzle of it towards his breast...."<sup>221</sup> His shipmates felt that he might have been watching for a deer and leaning against his gun when it went off accidentally. Stewart was of a cheerful temper, sober, stable and "under no visible marks of discontent."<sup>212</sup> He was closely kin to the Donald Stewart who had drowned earlier at Port Royal.<sup>223</sup>

Stephens' journal of life in Georgia was sometimes supplemented by the journal of the Earl of Egmont who frequently entered items relevant to the Georgia colony. One such item reported the visit to him made by Captain Thompson and Lieutenant Colonel Cochran on April 29, 1741. Cochran, as might be expected, sought to lodge a complaint against Hugh Mackay "who he pretends has ruined General Oglethorpe's regiment by his behaviour among the soldiers. He added that General Oglethorpe is infatuated to (sic) Capt. Mackay."<sup>224</sup> Cochran believed that Mackay would be the ruination of the colony. Egmont, in a different vein, believed "it was a misfortune we ever admitted such as call themselves gentlemen or any who carried servants for they are generally the

idlest, giving an ill example to others, spending their money in ale houses, &c."<sup>225</sup>

The same month as Egmont has these visitors, another colonist, James Carteret, came to England with news and letters. Carteret, who had a 500 acre grant in the southern half of the colony, revealed that Lieutenant Colonel Cook "practices the part of Sutler to the soldiers as Lt. Col. Cochran did before him."<sup>226</sup> He went on to say that the people had worked at first, but then they "fell unaccountably off."<sup>227</sup> He thought the bad impressions given out by the Scotch Club and "the disgust they took at the streightness (sic) of their tenures"<sup>228</sup> were the causes. Carteret reported that Oglethorpe had put a stop to the Darien people's selling cattle by taking the money for the slaughtered beeves and applying it to the £200 which the Trustees had advanced them in cattle. The Trustees had meant for them to stock their lands, but instead of building up their herd, they were selling it off; "which look'd as if they designed to quit the province."<sup>229</sup> Oglethorpe's action stopped the cattle industry. The selling of the beef had been going on at least since early 1740, for in May of that year, Captain Thompson had told Egmont that the Darien people were raising and selling four oxen a week to Oglethorpe's camp.<sup>230</sup>

No year in Georgia's first decade can be considered complete without a mention of the Spanish threat, and surely, 1741 was no exception. To be sure, it was a quiet year, militarily. The one raid the Spanish seem to have had a hand in was one reported by Stephens on March 30. A band of Spanish Indians from Saint Augustine "and those parts had fallen upon a plantation of Mr. Carr's"<sup>231</sup> on the main, over against Jekyll"<sup>232</sup> on March 18, killing or wounding several soldiers of a corporal's guard which Oglethorpe



had assigned there. They also killed or wounded some civilian servants. That same spring, Stephens was told that the garrison at Fort Argyle, not more than four, was breaking up. The commander, Lachlan Mackintosh, had written to Oglethorpe something the general did not like, presumably concerning their pay. Stephens understood that the general had told Mackintosh that he could do anything he wanted to about Argyle including closing it.<sup>233</sup>

Oglethorpe did not mount an offensive against the Spanish until the end of the year, when, in December, he took two armed vessels and 200 soldiers plus mariners and left on a secret mission against the Spanish.<sup>234</sup> Within the month, just after the first of 1742, Stephens heard that the mission had failed because of exceedingly bad weather, which caused them to have to throw their guns overboard to survive.<sup>235</sup> The general, then, set about to build up the military might of the colony. Thomas Jones, the half-breed Indian trader, was directed to recruit and organize a group of South Carolinians into a ranger company;<sup>236</sup> they were posted on Saint Simons and at Fort Prince William on Cumberland Island. The general sought to get two detachments of rangers in March--one would be at Fort Argyle under the command of John Milledge, an Englishman;<sup>237</sup> the other was for Ebenezer under the command of Thomas Bichler.<sup>238</sup> In May, a man named John Williams led a band of twelve horsemen from Virginia to serve with Oglethorpe,<sup>239</sup> and they, too, were posted on Saint Simons Island. Thus, Oglethorpe was clearly in the process of building up a fresh military force.

To the southward, Montiano at Saint Augustine and Guemes at Havan were doing the same thing in preparation for an offensive



against Georgia in accordance with Philip's wishes.<sup>240</sup> The Council of the Indies thought Georgia was weaker than it was, for it held the collective opinion that Admiral Edward Vernon had got a great many of his soldiers for the disastrous attack on Cartagena or New Granada from Georgia.<sup>241</sup> This, perhaps, made the Spanish feel more secure in planning their attack than they should have been. The two officials differed on the method that should be used in the offensive. Guemes wanted to operate primarily from a sea manoeuvre which would feature six frigates carrying twenty-four to thirty cannon in addition to a number of smaller craft; he wanted to attack between April and June to avoid storms.<sup>242</sup> Montiano wanted four frigates carrying forty to fifty cannon, three thousand men and a large supply of firearms and other weapons. He believed that the English slaves would "prove decisive in insuring a Spanish victory."<sup>243</sup> He thought that they would join the Spanish and help destroy the Southeast. Montiano was made commander-in-chief of the Spanish forces, and Guemes gave him two experienced military strategists and engineers, Lieutenant Colonel Francisco Rubiani and Don Antonio de Arredondo, as his chief aides.<sup>244</sup> The strike force was comprised of 1,900 men including militia and armed Negroes, a fleet of more than fifty vessels including five large men-of-war, eighteen cannon, thirty-four falconets,<sup>245</sup> twenty-two mortars and a supply of small arms. It was "the largest, best equipped force ever assembled in Florida and hopes ran high among his (Montiano's) officers and men that they would drive the English out of Georgia once and for all."<sup>246</sup>

On May 25, 1742, the Spanish fleet sailed out of Havana harbour in a steady drizzle of rain on a journey which took ten days, although it normally took only five.<sup>247</sup> The trip was plagued by

inclement weather and ships being lost from the main body due to weather and currents. They were not far from Havana, for instance, when at 9 P.M., May 27, they encountered a storm which lasted until 1 A.M. and separated two ships from the fleet.<sup>248</sup> They rejoined it at noon, May 28.<sup>249</sup> As they sailed northward, at a point off the Mosquito Inlet, a portion of the Spanish sail encountered the English frigate, Flamborough, Captain Hamar.<sup>251</sup> Some English sailors attempted to board a schooner at one point in the encounter, but were turned back by an ensign and ten men from another ship who had come to aid their compatriots. Some Spanish managed to land and fired on the frigate and the boat, sinking the latter.<sup>252</sup> When the frigate saw that fifteen of its men were captured--six of whom were wounded--it sailed north to Charleston.<sup>253</sup> The prisoners were taken to Saint Augustine "and among them, the officer in command who is a brother of Captain Mackay."<sup>254</sup> The Spanish sailed on to anchor off Anastasia <sup>Island opposite</sup> ~~Island opposite~~ Saint Augustine at 1 A.M. on June 4.<sup>255</sup>

Hamar called in at Georgia long enough to apprise Oglethorpe of what was happening in the South.<sup>256</sup> Oglethorpe immediately sent Lieutenant Primrose Maxwell to Charleston by water to request aid. Before he could return home, Lieutenant Hugh Mackay, who had been sent to Charleston by land, arrived June 20 to echo Maxwell's appeal. Anticipating Governour Bull's reticence to assist him, the general sent James Howell, a pilot and schooner master who could bring the much-coveted warships into Georgia harbours, delivered still another plea, but like the others, it fell on deaf ears.<sup>257</sup> Whether or not Lieutenant Colonel Cook and his son-in-law, Ensign Samuel Eyre, worked to undermine Oglethorpe's requests is not known, but the fact is that they were both leaving the

colony and leaving the general without a lieutenant-colonel of the regiment and a sub-engineer.<sup>258</sup> While up in Charleston, Governor Bull was ignoring the desperate pleas of Oglethorpe's emissaries, the Success, Captain William Thomson, arrived on June 17 with Captain William Horton and 100 grenadiers as well as a civilian cargo of twenty male servants and thirty heads of women and children.<sup>259</sup> Oglethorpe also re-inforced his troops in the South, in addition to Horton's men, with rangers summoned from other parts of the colony and with what Indians such men as Captain Jacob Matthews at Mount Venture on the Altamaha could muster.<sup>260</sup>

Finally, on June 21, the anxiety of awaiting the Spanish invasion was over. Nine sail sought to come into Amelia Sound but were repulsed by the eighteen-pound cannon at Fort Prince William on the south end of Cumberland Island, and by the guard schooner Walker, Captain George Dunbar, with its fourteen guns and eighty men. The two sets of guns fired "so briskly that they sheered off as fast as they could."<sup>261</sup> Oglethorpe thought to support the Cumberland Island detachments and sailed with a cadre of his own regiment; he had sent Captain Horton and his grenadiers ahead. On June 24, the day he and his men sailed in three boats, Oglethorpe encountered fourteen Spanish sail in Cumberland Sound and was obliged to fight his way through the lot. The Spanish were favoured by wind and tide and "soon came so near that a smart engagement ensued. We fired hotly at them, and they at us."<sup>262</sup> Of the two scout boats with Oglethorpe's ship, the one commanded by Lieutenant Sterling<sup>263</sup> stayed with the general throughout the encounter which left several Spanish dead and their vessels heading for the open sea not to rejoin their fleet until the day

before the Spanish sailed out of Saint Simons Sound.<sup>264</sup> The other scoutboat, which was the stronger of the two, under the command of Lieutenant Tolson<sup>265</sup> ran into a marsh and stayed there all night. He returned to Saint Simons the next morning and was arrested and subsequently court-martialed.<sup>266</sup> When Oglethorpe finally managed to get through the Spanish barrier, he went on to Cumberland where he withdrew the garrison, the artillery, and the stores at Fort Saint Andrew's and sent them to the other end of the island to re-inforce Fort William.<sup>267</sup> He returned to Saint Simons in the Walker and commandeered the Success, which had twenty guns, into the King's service.<sup>268</sup> He made up the crew from smaller vessels which were of little value in a sea fight. Oglethorpe now called in the Highland Company from Darien, Captain Mark Carr's company of marines and the rangers from their respective posts.<sup>269</sup> They were, thus, prepared as best they could be for battle.

The Spanish attack plan had been sent to Montiano in the same message which made him commander of the attack force. He was to have 1,000 regular soldiers and 800 militia men, whites, mulattoes, and Negroes with an appropriate number of officers.<sup>270</sup> He ordered Montiano to strike first at the northern end of Saint Simons with a landing of three vessels on the eastern beach.<sup>271</sup> This would, he said, prevent relief being able to come from the North, viz., South Carolina. Once they had captured Saint Simons Island, he was to "proceed northward to the interior channels, devastating, laying waste, sacking and burning whatever settlements, plantations and towns there may be as far as Port Royal inclusive, razing its fort and taking possession of the entire country."<sup>272</sup> Guemes did not believe that there were enough troops beyond the

Saint Simons region to resist Montiano's force. Montiano was ordered to be quick "so as to give no opportunity for resistance to form. Our operations must...be reduced to a sudden stroke, and for this reason, the greatest celerity is imperative."<sup>273</sup> After the capture of Port Royal, Negroes "of all languages some of which sort accompany the militia for this very purpose"<sup>274</sup> were to be sent to the countryside to tell the slaves that they were free and that they could come to Florida and cultivate their own lands which the Spanish would give them. Oglethorpe, too, believed that the Negroes would be important in an encounter with Spain, for he wrote Walpole that "forty thousand English slaves would either be an assistance to the invader or a prize worth Eight Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling."<sup>275</sup> Guemes apparently wanted their assistance as an available anti-British force to supplement the Spanish and Indians already in Florida.

In Saint Augustine, Montiano moved to implement Guemes' orders and on June 5, he held a council with his senior officers, including his chief deputies, Don Antonio de Arredondo, the chief engineer, and Lieutenant Colonel Don Francisco de Rubiani, and his naval ensign, Don Francisco de la Pena.<sup>276</sup> The council agreed on the method of attack against Saint Simons. In order to sever communications between that island and other places, they agreed to send three galliots to the northern end of the island and two would enter Cumberland Sound and sail up the inland waterway to a point between Fort Saint Andrew's and Frederica.<sup>277</sup>

On June 20, a convoy of fifty-two Spanish sail went northward at 8 A.M.; they remained together only until the next day when bad weather forced four galleys and some periaguas to seek shelter near the shore.<sup>278</sup> On June 28th, the Spanish came to anchor

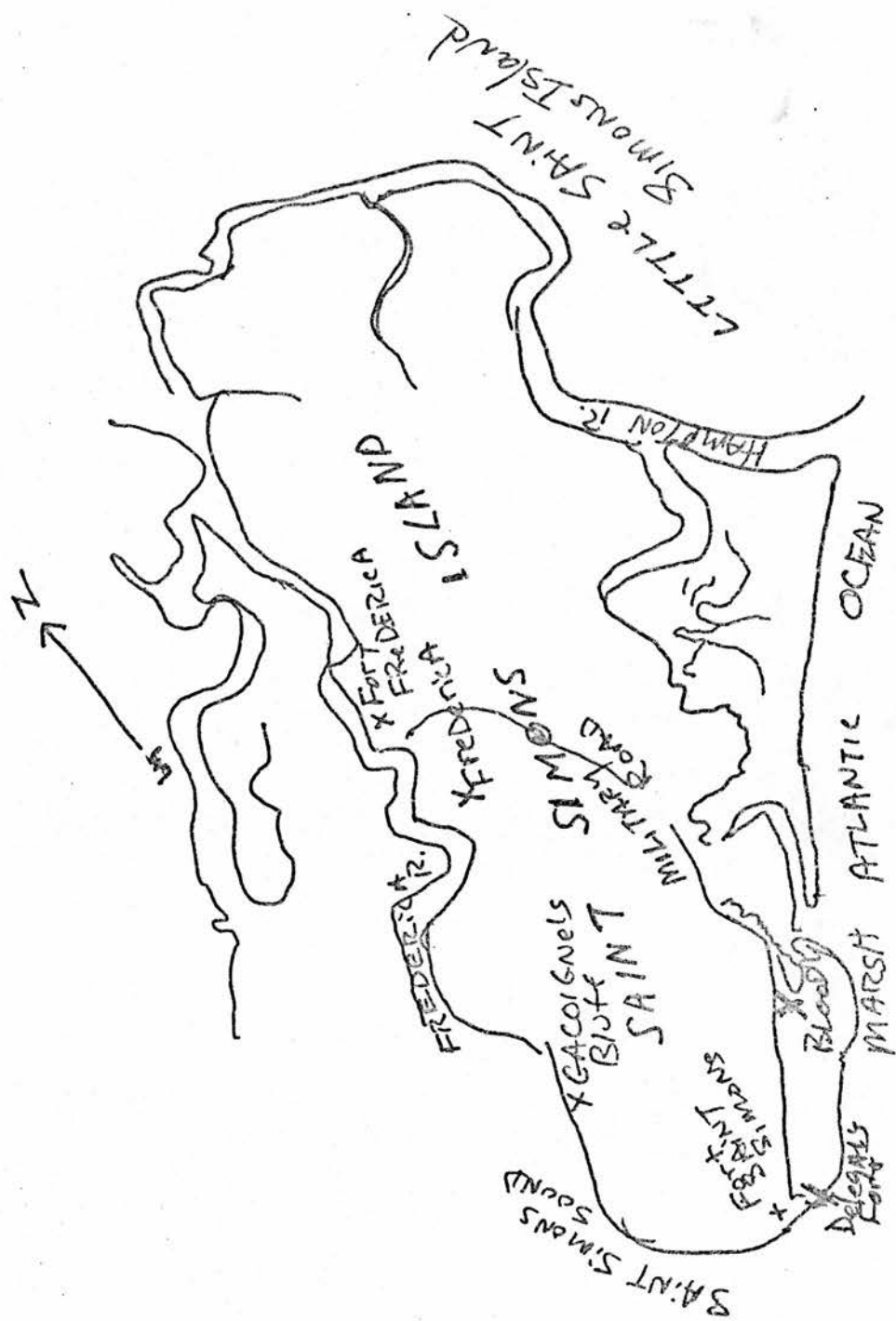


off Saint Simons bar, but made no attempt to land troops or take any hostile action. The Spanish were very short of water, but due to the presence of the British they could not go ashore and get any. While the Spanish were anchored, "the enemy made a show at various times of sallying forth from the port as far as the range of the guns of their castle."<sup>279</sup> Five bilanders<sup>280</sup> would sail out, anchor for a while, fire their guns as if testing their batteries, and sail back to port. The Spanish had a little bit of excitement within its own fleet when two of its own craft "fired on each other until a mutual recognition caused the fire to be stopped."<sup>281</sup> This took place at 8 P.M., which in Georgia in late June is plain daylight.

During the days that the Spanish were at anchor, the general raised another ranger troop and "by rewarding those who did extraordinary duty, promising great encouragement to all who should signalize themselves on this occasion, he kept up the spirits of the people and increased their numbers daily."<sup>282</sup> The general also sent a man named Mulryne to Carolina to raise whatever men he could. The Carolina council, having heard the Georgia pleas so many times now, at last, decided on July 6 to send ships to help Oglethorpe.<sup>283</sup> They would not really be of any value, for by the time they would arrive, the Spaniards would be contemplating departure.

With no way to supply themselves with water, the Spanish commanders must have realized that they could not long lie at anchor. They no longer had the original fifty-two ships in which they had sailed from Saint Augustine; their fleet, now, was reduced to thirty-six vessels, the others being out at sea due to the weather or otherwise lost.<sup>284</sup> They had to do something, and on





Monday, July 5, "a Spanish fleet of 32 sail, being 3 ships of 20 guns, 2 large snaws,<sup>285</sup> 3 large schooners, 4 sloops, the rest half galleys after hovering about and then having a strong easterly wind, came into Jekyll Sound...that having stood the fire of 150 shots from the 18-pounders at St. Simon's Fort and the ships and vessels that lay under that fort."<sup>286</sup> The Spanish passed into the sound without trying to board any British ships, although they did fire at the enemy.<sup>287</sup> One Spanish ship, a pink,<sup>288</sup> which was the last in the convoy went aground in the firing, but when the tide rose, it was able to put to sea again. There were four Spanish killed and nine wounded, including Lieutenant DeBerroa of the hospital pink, in the onslaught.<sup>289</sup>

The whole armada was at anchor at half past five and because the attackers feared that the English might bring up more guns, they decided to land troops. By seven o'clock the same evening, the disembarkation on Saint Simons had begun under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Don Antonio Salgado, who had directed the debacle at Port Moosa. By half past seven, about 1,000 men including Montiano, Rubiani, and Salgado, had landed under the protection of a galley, a packet boat, and at least, two galliots.<sup>290</sup> Some time between ten o'clock and midnight, "we saw a few fires started by the enemy, which as we could make out, seemed to be three bilanders and something else larger. From the great blaze which arose, we thought this last must be some powder magazine which they had blown up."<sup>291</sup>

Indian scouting parties were sent out twice before daylight. The first one returned at midnight to report that houses near the fort were unoccupied. The second one returned at four, reporting that the enemy had abandoned the fort. They brought back a few

few weapons and some things from a bilander which had been left loaded with some supplies of value.<sup>292</sup> The grenadier companies were sent to occupy the fort after the latter party returned; the rest of the army began a march along the beach at 6 A.M., where they spotted the three bilanders which had been burnt, "whose cargo must have consisted of flour and meat, because we found many barrels on the beach."<sup>293</sup> The stores proved of little value, for the Indians, in their eagerness to find anything of value, had spoiled them. "Recognizing the same thing had happened to the armed bilander at the hands of the said Indians as well as of sailors who had sacked it, an officer was detached with a guard to preserve whatever he could, and orders were given to the agent of the exchequer to make an inventory of whatever should be found."<sup>294</sup> Going up the beach, the invaders discovered that a British schooner and man-of-war had escaped during the night, and Don Domingo de La Cron, captain of the guard, was arrested for failure to fire on the man-of-war throughout the night as he had been ordered. They found, too, the captain of the cargo-laden bilander lying on the beach having been badly wounded in the back by gunshot. He stated that Oglethorpe retreated to Frederica with 500 men; however, he could tell them nothing of Frederica, for he had only been anchored there for a few days and had never visited the village.<sup>295</sup> The Spanish put him aboard the hospital ship to be treated. The troops, then, marched to the northern entrance of the fort "under the cover of some tall and thick live oaks found here and also of the plantations or settlements of neat houses which surround the neighborhood."<sup>296</sup>

When they entered the fort, Fort Saint Simons, they discovered the British had done a good bit of damage before they left.

They found a large magazine had been blown up and that three eighteen-pounders had been burnt and imperfectly spiked. The carriages of these guns were so well-designed that two men could handle the movement of them. Additionally, there were five six-pounders imperfectly spiked and one unspiked, 190 loaded hand-grenades, some musket balls, and in the ashes of the magazines, a variety of iron goods.<sup>297</sup> The interior of the fortification was quite large; the distance from the blockhouse to the fort itself could contain as many as 10,000 men. "Here we found six lines of houses in the form of a camp; among these were sixty distant only one pace from another."<sup>299</sup> They were able to save these; the soldiers had already fired another stretch of sixty houses built in the same manner and four magazines. In sacking the houses, the camp, and the plantations, "there had been some disorder...in consequence of which we lost some cattle and goats and considerable quantities of rich wines, oils, beer, fine butter, cheeses, and other delicacies to say nothing of a great supply of hard tack, salt meat and flour."<sup>300</sup> In his journal, the Marquess of Casinas regretted the burning of these supplies which would have been useful for the Spaniards' maintenance. They occupied the fort and spent the night of Tuesday, July 6, there.

On Wednesday, July 7, at 6 o'clock in the morning, two detachments of men were sent out to explore the area; not all of them would return. Don Sebastian Sanchez took a company from the garrison at Saint Augustine and a picket of forty men to reconnoitre the careening ground.<sup>301</sup> Don Nicolas Hernandez, with twenty-five of his company and forty Indian Scouts, was dispatched to examine the road through the country to Frederica. The two reports would help to determine the route of the attack on

Frederica.<sup>302</sup> Saint Simons was, and is heavily wooded with thick underbrush growing even now; Don Sebastian being totally unfamiliar with the island lost his way and joined Don Nicolas' company.<sup>303</sup> The two men tried to lead their forces out of the swamp they had wandered into; instead, they became more confused while their men wandered single file through the bogs on narrow ribbons of firm terrain. By ten o'clock, Don Sebastian had sent word back to the main body that he had found a "very narrow trail, and that Don Antonio Barba, who was in command of a reconnoitering party (had reported) that nearly the entire trail was nothing but a path passing through thick woods, leading at intervals into a few savannahs or clearings of a swampy nature."<sup>304</sup> Thus, Don Antonio believed that no formation of troops could ever be possible, because anybody who got off the trail would be mired.<sup>305</sup>

Oglethorpe got word of the march at about 9 A.M. when a quartet of rangers reported that they had encountered about 200 Spaniards marching within a mile and a half of Frederica.<sup>306</sup> A fifth ranger, William Small of Captain Noble Jones' company, was wounded by the enemy in the leg and thigh and seems to have died of his injuries.<sup>307</sup> Oglethorpe immediately ordered four platoons of the regiment to march. He himself mounted his horse at once and led rangers, Highlanders, and Indians in search of the Spanish.<sup>308</sup> A British account tells that the Indians and British came upon the enemy about one mile from their own camp, "as they were entering the savannah to take possession of a ditch they had a mind to use as an entrenchment."<sup>309</sup> Oglethorpe himself captured a grenadier named Salvador Roman, and Lieutenant Robert Scroggs of the English rangers took Captain Sanchez prisoner, for which feat Scroggs was promoted to captain.<sup>310</sup> "Toonahowi, being shot thro' his right



right arm by Capt. Hageleto, drew his pistol and shot him thro' the head."<sup>311</sup> The aggressors retreated causing the general to give chase for about two miles halting at "an advantageous piece of ground" until his regiment came up.<sup>312</sup> When they arrived, "he posted them with the Highlanders in a wood with a large savannah or meadow in their front over which the Spaniards must pass in their way to Frederica."<sup>313</sup> The Spaniards, at their campsite, learned of the fate of their comrades, and Montiano, at about 3 P.M., sent three companies of grenadiers under the command of Don Antonio Barba, a grenadier captain, to retaliate.<sup>314</sup> As Barba's forces edged their way forward on a brushwood causeway across the swampy terrain, an advance party of seven--five Spanish and two Indians--noticed something different on the path: "a cut-log stockade and also here and there some brushwood arranged like a parapet, none of which they had observed before."<sup>315</sup> Barba and his men stopped to inspect the site, and at this point, the British opened fire so fiercely that all the Spanish could see was the flash of gunfire. "This fire he undertook for more than one hour without knowing whome he was engaged with because of the thickness of the forest."<sup>316</sup> Oglethorpe, who had gone to Frederica to assign some rangers, and boatmen, heard the firing as he was returning and found three platoons "who in the smook and drizzling rain had retreated in disorder."<sup>317</sup> Two of the three platoons, Captain Raymond Demere's and Ensign Gibbon's, responded to the general's directive that they re-organize themselves and follow him into the battle arena.<sup>318</sup> However, there was not much need for them, for Oglethorpe wrote, "I found the Spaniards entirely routed by one platoon of the Regiment under the command of Lieutenant Sutherland and the Highland company under the command of Lieu-

tenant Charles Mackay."<sup>319</sup> One British account claims that Barba was both mortally wounded and captured;<sup>320</sup> Montiano's report does not say this; instead, he lists only one officer, Don Miguel Bucareli of the Havana company as having been killed.<sup>321</sup> In the Spanish toll for the day, they list two captains and eleven men captured, ten wounded and twelve killed in the first encounter,<sup>322</sup> and seven killed, including Don Miguel, and eleven wounded in the second.<sup>323</sup> Lieutenant Sutherland does not differentiate in the skirmishes and reports a much higher Spanish loss, "In both actions the enemy lost two captains, one Lieutenant, two serjeants, two Drums, and about 160 private men; and one captain and 19 men were taken prisoners."<sup>324</sup> The British side is reported by the ranger to have lost only one man, "We lost not one man in the two attacks, but one Mr. Maclane a Scottish gentleman who running very hard in pursuit of the enemy spoiled the circulation of his blood and died soon after he was brought to town."<sup>325</sup> At least two other Britons were killed due to their own carelessness. One of the captured captains, Don Nicolas Hernandez, returned to his compatriots at 2 A.M. July 9, after escaping from his two captors who had improperly restrained him. "He carried out the extreme resolution of killing them both."<sup>326</sup>

The site of this small skirmish, which has been known variously as Bloody Bend, Grenadier Savannah and Grenadier Marsh, is known most commonly in modern times as Bloody Marsh.<sup>327</sup> For all of its smallness and relative obscurity, it was most most important for it will be shown that the Spanish were never again able to put together an attack on Georgia as long as Florida came under the Spanish flag. There is some tendency amongst Georgians

to attribute the rout at Bloody Marsh to Scottish Highlanders and four Indians, excluding Salzburger, Jew, Frenchman, Englishman and all the other heritages that made up the colony. To be sure, at least half of the ambushing force was Charles Mackay's Highlanders; further, it has been clearly shown that there were a number of Scots surnames in Oglethorpe's regiment, Lieutenant Patrick Sutherland being one of them. Too, one feels safe in assuming that since the Gibraltar men came out of Rothes' regiment, there were more than likely a significant number of Scots in this portion of the regiment. Nonetheless, since there are only ~~five~~<sup>six</sup> names of participants in the actual battle known: Maclane, Mackay, Sutherland, William Mackintosh, John Stewart, and Peter Grant,<sup>329</sup> one cannot state categorically that the defeat of the Spanish was exclusively a Scottish victory. On the other hand, one feels perfectly safe in saying that it was a Scottish-dominated victory.

Whatever the national origin of the British force, it hurried on after the Spanish, halting about a mile and a half from Fort Saint Simons to intercept Spanish stragglers and await a third Spanish march. The next morning, the general returned to Frederica and appointed a general staff with Lieutenants Mackay and Primrose Maxwell as aides-de-camp, Lieutenant Sutherland as brigade major, and Sergeant John Stewart, second ensign, in reward for his valiant service.<sup>330</sup> Presumably, the others were promoted for meritorious service.

The invading force did not at first give up hope of being able to attack the English again; they employed the Indians to find an alternate route to Frederica to no avail. Next, they sent out Don Adrian Cantein, a naval officer, to explore the sea channels to Frederica. He reported that the channel was adequate for



The Battle of Bloody Marsh as interpreted by artist George Parrish, Jr. Two kilted Scots are shown on the left. Great Moments in Georgia History. (Atlanta: Rich's, Inc., n.d.), pp.

all vessels, and that he had found a stretch of land large enough for more troops than they had; however, the ships would have to pass within firing range of British guns to get there. Too, he was doubtful about the firmness of the ground since the "quaking grass"<sup>331</sup> was everywhere. The chances of success in a sea attack seemed poor, so they decided against one. Indeed, according to a Briton who escaped the Spaniards, they had first resolved to give no quarter, but after the second offensive on July 7, they had been in great terror.<sup>332</sup> To add to the Spanish woes, there was a considerable <sup>Rift</sup> amongst their forces. From deserters and escaped prisoners, Oglethorpe learned that the rift was so great "that Don Antonio de Arredondo, who commanded the Cuba forces, encamped separate from those of Augustine, and the commodore had ordered all his seamen on board."<sup>333</sup>

The opposition was, however, united and marched in a counter-attack on July 12. The force of 500 men stopped for the night: about a mile from the Spanish camp, but while they were encamped, a French boatman in Oglethorpe's service fired his gun<sup>334</sup> in what seems to have been a deliberate effort to alert the enemy, for he deserted to them arriving in their midst at 3 A.M.<sup>335</sup> With their adversaries now on the alert, Oglethorpe ordered all the drummers to beat the Grenadier's March in a gesture of arrogance as they returned to Frederica. The next day in a move to thwart any information of the Frenchman, Oglethorpe released and paid a Spanish prisoner to take a letter to the Frenchman in which the he was given instructions as to what to tell his captors about Frederica's defences and to encourage them to come up water, acting as their pilot. The letter was delivered to Montano who promptly ordered the Frenchman taken into custody as a double agent.<sup>336</sup>



Later that same day, July 13, between 12 and 1 P.M., an out-post reported five British ships, a thirty-gun frigate, a brigantine, a sloop, and two packet boats, on the horizon. Montiano, at once conferred with Salgado, Rubiani, and Arredondo, and they decided to retreat "lest Oglethorpe should attack by land while his ships did the same by sea."<sup>337</sup> They began to load the troops, the grenadiers first, that evening and continued loading until 6 o'clock the next morning. On July 14, one week to the day after the Battle of Bloody Marsh, the Spaniards set sail southward, leaving so hurriedly that they left a quantity of provisions and ammunition for the British to commandeer. The departing fleet sailed down the inland waterway, which separates the islands from the Georgia mainland, landing at Fort Saint Andrew's on Cumberland Island which they found abandoned, Oglethorpe having relocated men and supplies some time earlier. They camped there overnight, eating some British horses which they had slaughtered and cooked.<sup>339</sup> The Spanish left from that point in two separate units; one went down the inland waterway; the other going by the outer, open sea, route. Before they left, they fired the fort and some houses.<sup>340</sup> The remainder of their return trip was uneventful save that Montiano, who had planned to scout Fort San Pedro, known to the British as Fort William, was fired on from that place and sailed on past to the Saint John's River. From there, he went on to Saint Augustine, arriving there on August 1.<sup>341</sup>

Thus did the brief encounter at Bloody Marsh play havoc with the Spanish mission. Whether or not the Spanish, by launching a major offensive, could have defeated the British is a moot point; certainly, it would seem that they should have been able to do so,

for they had more men and a stronger, larger fleet. The Spanish seemed to have been more anxious to make a secure retreat than they should have been, and this played a significant part in their operation. Indeed, their mission was not one of conquest, but rather one of searching and destroying; "the insolent, perfidious English were to be chastised and the chastisement was to be extermination."<sup>342</sup> Once this was done, the attack force was to return to its home base. The importance of this withdrawal and return was stressed to the point that it seemed about as important as the attack. "This concern undeniably affected the morale of the commanding general, if not the entire expedition."<sup>343</sup> While one must not discount that factor, it seems improper not to consider the division within the Spanish forces as a factor in their defeat. Indeed, with the Augustine troops at one place, the Havana men at another, and the seamen recalled to their ships, one is reminded of the division and sleeping arrangements of the British at Fort Mose. Certainly, it would seem that if Montiano could have mended the rift and launched a full scale offensive, Georgia would have again been under the flag of Madrid.

In reality, we must not regard the attempt of Spain on New Georgia as an affair between small numbers in a distant and unimportant land; it was Spain and England striving for a mastery in a vast continent, and although Spain...had no notion of conquest, to England, that is to Oglethorpe, the notion of permanency was ever present and fundamentally real. To him, the question was whether his beloved Georgia should be a Spanish waste, or a living, free English colony.<sup>344</sup>

Thus did a Scottish-dominated British fighting force spell the end of the Spanish threat to Georgia. For although the numbers were comparatively small and the battle rather short, the British rout at Bloody Marsh was the last engagement the opposing forces would confront each other with, although the British tried to

engage the Spanish later on. "This was the decisive battle, as decisive for Spain as two decades later the Plains of Abraham proved for France or Yorktown two decades yet later for Britain."<sup>345</sup> And the known participants answered to the names of MacLane, Mackay, Sutherland, Mackintosh, Stewart, and Grant.

The general, wishing to further secure his victory, tried two subsequent offensives. One, later in 1742, was a somewhat casual attempt to stage a counterattack by landing troops on Anastasia Island in August under the protection of British ships. Major Heron's men were turned back by high surf; and the invasion never became a reality. In February 1743, he decided to try again, this time launching a punitive raid in retaliation for raids made by Spanish Indians. He rallied several hundred troops and went to Saint Augustine; he was disappointed, for although they went dangerously close to the town walls, they were unable to bait the enemy into coming out and fighting.<sup>346</sup> Oglethorpe's Indians had greater success; they struck a Spanish piragua on the Diego River which had come close to the river bank where the British Indians were hiding. They are credited with having killed some forty occupants of the craft, but the Indians only produced five scalps and a few odd pieces of various anatomies.<sup>347</sup> This last episode "marked the end of an era and for the first time since 1670, the Southeast was peaceful."<sup>348</sup> On March 18, the British prepared to strike camp and return to Georgia.

Oglethorpe went home to England in July 1743 to answer in court-martial nineteen charges made by Lieutenant Colonel Cook. The general never again returned to his beloved Georgia; Captain William Horton became the colony's military commander.<sup>349</sup> John Mackintosh Moore, together with James Macqueen, returned in 1743

from San Sebastian and assumed command of the Highland Independent Company;<sup>350</sup> Charles Mackay, who had been its commander, took charge of the Highland Rangers whose leader Captain Hugh Mackay had died the preceding December.<sup>351</sup>

In 1748, the War of Jenkins' Ear which had escalated into King George's War was ended with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle which returned everything captured in the war to its antebellum owner.<sup>352</sup> The next year, the Georgia frontier was considered so secure that the King ordered the regiment ~~deactivated~~ <sup>disbanded</sup>.<sup>353</sup> The Scots had come to serve as a barrier against the Spanish, and now that barrier was falling. To be sure, there was, until Spain ceded Florida to Britain in the Peace of Paris of 1763,<sup>354</sup> always the spectre of Madrid looming over Georgia, but the colonists there must have realized early on, however, that if the Spanish would not give chase in their own front garden; then, surely they would not come so far afield as Georgia. Now, the Scots who had come to fight could hang up their targets and broadswords and get on with the business of building lives for themselves as farmers, merchants, and public men. And this they did, inscribing indelibly their names and place names into the face of Georgia. Since June 16, 1743, when Dr. Patrick Graham became fifth assistant to the colony's president William Stephens,<sup>355</sup> Scottish surnames have dotted the upper ranks of state government. In the past, the governours of the state have included the names of Graham, Bulloch, Houston (sic), Clark, Telfair, Forsyth and McDonald. The present governour, George Busbee, has a name which recalls the village of Busby near East Kilbride in Lanarkshire. The state has a host of place names of counties, towns, and villages which are Scottish family names: Andrew College is located in Cuthbert near Albany

and Dawson and fairly close to Leslie: Forsyth is in Monroe County not far from Crawford and Houston Counties or the village of Gray. What once was New Inverness is now McIntosh County. In addition to bringing their family names, they brought place names: Glasgow, Sterling, Culloden, Glenmore, and Moniac to name a few. The list of Scottish family and place names in Georgia is too extensive to mention. And so it is, that while the war with Spain ended in what is now the Southeastern United States with the Scottish-led Battle of Bloody Marsh, the men and women from north of the Borders and their compatriots who came later made a significant contribution to the last of George's thirteen American colonies and helped to convert a frontier wilderness into an area as diverse in its life and economy as is its genealogical heritage.



## Chapter VI

By the time that the infant colony of Georgia was hardly more than a decade old, a great many changes had taken place. Originally planned as a colony for imprisoned English debtors, it never materialized as such. Instead it was peopled by a multiplicity of European nationalities who came for a number of reasons. Georgia was supposed to provide Britain with raw silk and other goods for manufacture, but the silkworms were never very productive, and other raw goods for export were in short supply that first decade, for survival was uppermost in the colonists' minds. The colony did accomplish two of its intended goals in those early years: it was a consumer of British goods, and it was a buffer for Carolina against the Spanish. In truth, it was more than a buffer for by the end of the first decade of Georgia's existence, the Spanish threat, present in that sector since the coming of the first British subjects almost three-quarters of a century earlier, was gone and gone for good. Significant in this removal were a number of Scottish emigrants. Some claim that it was a group of Scots Highlanders and four Indians who dealt the death blow to the Spanish invaders, excluding thereby all the other nationalities found in early Georgia. There is not basis in fact for this claim. It is hinted, too, that these Scots were gifted with some extraordinary prowess because they were Scots. This seems doubtful, for while one would not willingly detract from the bravery of North Britons, one concludes that the key to the British victory at the Battle of Bloody Marsh, which was tantamount to the death blow to the Spanish forces, was that there was a body of able fighting men at a strategic site rather than that they were from a particular country. As circumstances prevailed, the able, fighting men were, in

fact, Scots dominated, if not entirely Scots. This was one of several important roles that these North Britons played in early Georgia.

How then, did these people come to play such an important role in the early days of the colony? Largely for the same reason that they are credited with the victory at Bloody Marsh. They were there present in sufficient numbers, and, once there, their conduct earned them the high esteem of Oglethorpe, who placed a number of them in significant positions, particularly in military assignments. Although the first party of Scots, the Lowlanders who came on their own in 1734, provided problems in the colony, the remainder, who were generally Highlanders, usually were in favor with Oglethorpe and other officials from the time the first contingent arrived in early 1736. That first party from the north of Scotland was recruited largely by Lieutenant Hugh Mackay, who had received his commission for serving the king at Glenshiel, and Captain George Dunbar, an Inverness man and master of the Prince of Wales.

Hugh Mackay did not go to Scotland on his own decision, he was sent there by Oglethorpe to seek out persons who would sail to the new world and there establish a settlement, which would, in fact, be the southernmost British community against the constantly feared Spanish. It seems possible that Oglethorpe chose his recruiter first, and, once the task was placed in front of that person, Mackay recommended that he be allowed to recruit in Scotland. Oglethorpe agreed. Although there is no evidence to support this supposition, the weight of evidence in this thesis indicates quite clearly that provinciality - sticking to one's own kind - is very much a factor in human behavior. Mackay appears to have been from Sutherland, Scotland. Thus, he went

into regions where he could expect to find persons he would be comfortable with. Additionally, Mackay, who was well into recruiting when Dunbar and his ship arrived at Inverness harbor in late 1735, must have known that the demand for black cattle was driving more and more Scottish tenants off estates which were being enclosed for pasture land. He knew, too, that there was still division in the north of Scotland between Jacobites and supporters of the government. Not only had he served King George at Glenshiel, but his clansmen had fought in the '15 in the cause of the government. They had been victorious over the Earl of Mar's forces. True, the '19 had been abortive, and a good many years had passed, but still Mackay knew that there were Stuart loyalists in the glens and across the moors, and who could foretell when they would finally be put down? So that between the enclosures and the smoldering Jacobites, Oglethorpe's lieutenant must have felt that he could find a shipload of people willing to go where land was plentiful and free, and the Spaniards were an unknown, and probably very remote, quantity. Curiously, there were Jacobites on the ship, too. Mackintoshes and Macdonalds, to name only two groups, were in ample supply. Although these may have been recruited by Dunbar, it seems quite possible that someone from their territories had occasion to be in Inverness town and learn of the proposed emigration. He returned home, spread the news to neighbors and family, and they decided to come along. To be sure, this band was offered a generous subsidy to go - free transport, land, food and supplies, but on the other hand, they must have felt some apprehension at going to a strange place they had only heard about.

Apart from this group, which sailed from Inverness in late 1735, there were two more groups to come from the Highlands and the north in the first decade of Georgia's life - one in 1737 and one in 1741.

It is more than evident in studying these rosters of passengers and the material surrounding them, that there was what might be called a kinship factor at work. Kinship, in this sense, goes beyond blood to include a common bond. If one carefully reads the correspondence of Hugh Mackay in 1735, when he was on his recruiting mission, it is evident that he is traveling in what is mainly territory friendly to the Mackays, where he either knew people through clan connections or could meet people through these same links. The Mackintoshes appear to have been the leaders of the Jacobites; they were surely the most numerous. Correspondence from the colony to Inverness shows that there was a Mackintosh connection in the town itself; it is not too much to assume that he could have informed his clansmen and helped them to make the arrangements. Nowhere does the kinship factor of clan show more clearly than in the 1741 shipment of emigrants from the north of Scotland, when 46.2 per cent were known to be Mackay relatives. Thus, these shipments are evidences of bonds of region and clan. The colonists who came from the Lowlands in 1734 had still another form of kinship, for with the exception of two persons, Joseph Wardrope, an Edinburgh carpenter, and Patrick Tailfer, the physician, these men seem mainly to have been merchants - the kinship of occupation. Since they were from Glasgow and Edinburgh, they had the bond of region and since they gave every indication of being merchant adventurers, they had that tie as well. This was a hereditary link, for several of this 1734 group had relatives who had invested in the Darien venture, so their interest came with their genes. Thus, in sum, the idea of kinship in Georgia entails relationships of clan, sept, family, and region as well as occupation.

Significantly absent was the link of wealth. Generally speaking, there were few of the Scots emigrants who were appreciably well off.

Land grants of 400 acres or more were recorded for twenty-two persons, less than five per cent of the 497 identified emigrants. Of those twenty-two, two went out because they were sent to Georgia with the Gibraltar troops, and two may never have gone at all. Just over one half, 249, are known to have gone out as Trust servants, servants to individuals, "on the charity", or as unauthorized servants. The remaining 226 persons include 120 identified by Egmont as spouses and children. This leaves ninety-six persons, mostly men, some of whom carried one or more servants with them. In fine, it seems that Scotland lost relatively few people who made any difference to it economically. Probably some of them came off tacks that were being enclosed for the black cattle. Their going solved the problem of finding a new situation for themselves and their families. The emigrants were from many places; numerically, then, there were few people ever to leave a single place. Thus the impact in Scotland and, in particular in the Highlands, of the emigrations was probably minimal. Home folk looked on the departure with mixed emotions; sorry to see loved ones go so far away; relieved that some had a new place to earn a living, and happy to have connections in America. If all went well, they might emigrate too.

In Georgia, this group from the north and the Highlands was much more significant; they made a difference in the colony. In truth, there were a comparatively high number of them there; possibly some twenty per cent or more were Highlanders. Apart however from the sheer weight of numbers, the Highlanders, from the beginning, found favor with Oglethorpe. In his first visit to Darien, less than a fortnight after the Prince of Wales had put down its anchor in waters off the Georgia coast, Oglethorpe was pleased with the progress that the Inverness party had made. He named several to be commanders of



military installations; early commanders bore the names of Mackay, Mackintosh, and Macpherson. They did their job well, and when Captain Hermsdorf's men ran away from Fort Saint George in fear of the Spaniards, Oglethorpe replaced Hermsdorf with a Mackay. When Oglethorpe needed a company of men to accompany him far into the Indian country, he chose a party clearly dominated by Scots. Finally, the Scots proved that Oglethorpe was right when he dispatched them to the marshy island site that changed the tide of American frontier history.

When the Spanish sailed away from Saint Simons Island and subsequently refused to come out and fight in their own front garden, the Georgians must have felt a sense of relief almost beyond description, for the Spanish threat had been a very real one from the beginning. Indeed, the Spanish had claimed the territory for more than two centuries and had been fighting the British about it since 1686 when forces under De Leon began the attack that led to the virtual eradication of Stuart's Town, Lord Cardross' own settlement. True, the ever present fear of the Spanish had been used by servants to have a lark in town, but such was rare, and a swift strike against the British always loomed on the horizon. Any time small boats went too near the shore or wood gatherers wandered too far from camp, they ran the danger of sudden death at the hands of the enemy. Curiously, it was as much the Spanish as it was the British who removed the threat against Georgia. Clearly, a significant part of their withdrawal was not that they were so badly defeated, but that they were so badly divided within their own ranks. This was as devastating to their cause as the split between British forces at Fort Moosa had been in 1740. Indeed, the Scottish behavior at Fort Moosa is highly significant. One must recall that the Mackays were Loyalists and the Mackintoshes were Jacobites, natural enemies in a manner of speaking. Yet, they were Scots and Highlanders;

the two officers, Captain Hugh Mackay and Captain John Mackintosh Moore, formed an alliance against Colonel Palmer and the South Carolinians - a "them and us" situation based on provinciality.

Thus, it can be seen that the two more or less natural enemies could resolve their differences and join forces against someone who was not a Scottish emigrant. This attitude was the cause of death and imprisonment of many Scots. Provinciality amongst the Spanish did not cause so many lives or jailings in terms of percentages. This very same sort of dichotomy, however, did lead to the end of the Spanish threat, for the Havanians stuck with their own kind, and the Saint Augustinians with theirs. Had these forces reconciled their differences and mounted an all-out attack, they could have demolished the British forces. They came in, however, with a seek-and-destroy notion, and never really put together a proper battle.

While the Spanish provided an external problem, the Malcontents, a band of dissatisfied colonists whose nucleus was the Lowlanders of 1734, provided an internal problem. They were unhappy with things from about the time the ship anchored. In truth, they probably should never have come, for they wanted, apparently, lives that were less rigorous than the primitive frontier of Georgia offered. They were not members - individually or collectively - of the ruling faction and thus they were constantly finding fault with the settlement and its administrators. Ultimately, their tenure in Georgia was short.

Spaniard, Malcontent, Highlander - each was important in the early days of the colony of Georgia. Without the constant threat of the Spaniard, the first Highland colony might never have been recruited to come across the ocean. Without the Malcontent, some of the colonists' early thinking would have been lost in the pipe smoke of Jenkins' Tavern.

The Highlander was a continuing force in the colony, where the other two were largely transitory. The colony at Darien was joined in succeeding decades by more emigrants from the Highlands and the North. In turn, these Scots pushed on to new frontiers - further inland and to the north and south. They became, not only planters and public officials, but doctors, bankers, and merchants as well. Thus it was that these first Highlanders and their succeeding kinsmen helped to shape the life of Georgia from its very beginning.

## Appendix

There follows a list of 497 persons presumed to have been Scottish and residents in Georgia during the decade 1732 to 1742. To attempt to compile a list such as this is indeed a trying task. The most comprehensive source is the oft-cited work, The Egmont List, but its accuracy is less than total. There are several confused names, for example, Alexander Reynolds is identified as a "servt. to Will. Wardrope;"<sup>1</sup> however, there is no Will. Wardrope listed as being in the colony, and thus, one may infer that Reynolds was a servant to Will. Woodroffe, a haberdasher.<sup>2</sup> There are errors, in relationships, too. If the reader recalls that Captain Cuthbert died a bachelor and that his sister was his housekeeper, then the unnamed woman identified as Cuthbert's wife, becomes, in fact, his sister. Although there may be errors in The Egmont List, it is, nonetheless, extremely important to colonial scholars, for it seems to be the only census of a colony for so long a period of time. That Egmont was not familiar with Scottish place names is clear when one studies the Prince of Wales shipping roster. An effort has been made to clarify some of the more confusing names, and for the most part, these have been placed in parentheses just after Egmont's spelling. The appendix has been divided into five parts--four by ships and dates, and the fifth largely by surnames. In general, the designation of a person as Scottish for purposes of this listing was arrived at in one of three ways: the person emigrated with a group identified as Scottish; his name is generally considered to be Scottish or he is related to someone in Scotland or who has a name generally considered to be Scottish. Parts I, II, and III are taken from The Egmont List, and the num-

ber of the page on which each may be found appears in parentheses at the end of each entry. Part IV is taken from a letter written by Verelst to William Stephens in September 1741. Part V is compiled almost exclusively from The Egmont List. The language of the entries is that of Egmont or Verelst.

Part I: Passengers aboard the Friendship, Captain Craigie, which arrived in Charleston in early August 1734.

Armstrong, Andrew--Servt., arrived 1 Aug. 1734. (62)

Baillie, John<sup>1</sup>--Arrived 1 Aug. 1734. He had a grant of 400 acres 18 Oct. 1733. (63)

Bell, Andrew<sup>2</sup>--Servt. to Patrick Houstoun; arrived 1 Aug. 1734; lot 169 in Savannah. After his service to Patrick Houston, he had this lot granted in 1736, but the next year left the colony and in Feb. 1738-9 was in Carolina. Quitted (64)

Bell, Robert--Servt. to Andrew Grant; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. Dead 1740. (64)

Brown, Anne--Servt. to Widow Hedges; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. (65)

Bunkle, George--Servt. to Joseph Wardrope; arrived 21 Aug. 1734; lot 179 in Savannah. After his service under Jos. Wardrope this lot was granted him in 1736 but continued with Wardrope till Aug. 1738. In the colony at the end of the year 1746. Quitted to Carolina May 1742. (65)

Calvin, Ja.--Servt. to Petr. Houstoun; arrived 1 Aug. 1734; lot 201 in Savannah. Servant at first to Patrick Houstoun: afterwards this lot was granted him. He lives mostly out of the Colony. In May 1737 he had fenced 5 acres & ½, felled and cleared 5, and planted 3½ from whence he had 60 bushels of Ind. corn, 12 of pease. (66)



- Dawson, Tho.--Servt. to Patrick Houston; arrived 1 Aug. 1734; dead Aug. 1738. (71)
- Dempster, Geo.--Servt. to Patrick Houston; arrived 1 Aug. 1734; dead Aug. 1738. (71)
- Douglas, Willm.<sup>3</sup>--Servt. to Patrick Bailfar; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. (72)
- Duncan, John--Servt. to Patrick Houston; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. Servt. at first to Patrick Houston, but afterwards bought by A. Johnson 21 Jan. 1734-5. (72)
- Frazer, Thomas<sup>4</sup>--Servt. to Patrick Houston; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. In the Colony the end of the year 1746. (sic) Out of his time. (74)
- Furzer, Robt., Senr.--Servt. to Will & Hugh Sterling; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. (74)
- Fyffe, Nathl.--Servt. to Patrick Houston; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. (74)
- Glen, Archibald--Servt. to Will & H. Sterling; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. (75)
- Grant, Archibald--Servt. to Will & H. Sterling; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. (76)
- Grey, Eliz.--Servt. to Jo. Baillie; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. Discharged her masters service and marry'd Geo. Sims 10 March 1734-5. Disch. Dead 1740. (77)
- Houston, James--Arrived 1 Aug. 1734. A grant was made him of 500 acres 14 Nov. 1733. Dead 1737. (79)
- Houston, Patrick<sup>5</sup>--Gent. 1740 took a lot in Frederica by mar. to Uapt. Dunbars sister; arrived 1 Aug. 1734; lot 38 in Frederica. Fyn'd 1.0.0 for selling rum 17 July 1735. Convicted

of not supplying his servants with necessarys 21 Oct. 1735.

A lot of 500 acres was granted him 1 Aug. 1733. But not set out till June 1737. In Oct. 1738 Col. Oglethorp lent him on the Trustees acct 100£ to enable him to set up a boat to furnish provision cheap to the colony. (72)

Hope, Jo.--Servt. to Patrick Tailfer; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. (79)

James, Eliz.--Servt. to Patrick Tailfer; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. (80)

Johnson, George<sup>6</sup>--Servt. to Patrick Tailfer, Sawyer; arrived 1 Aug. 1734; out of his time. (80)

Johnson, Geo.--Servt. to Will. Sterling; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. (80)

Kinard, David--Servt. to Will. & H. Sterling; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. (81)

Macbride, Ant.--Servt. to Will. & H. Sterling; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. (83)

Macbride, Hen.--Servt. to Will. & H. Sterling; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. (83)

Macdonald, Jo.--Servt. to Jo. Baily; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. At first servt. to John Baily; afterwards to Andrew Grant. (83)

Macgregor, Jane--Servt. to Will. & H. Sterling; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. (84)

Mackintyre, Will.--Servt. to Will. & H. Sterling; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. (86)

Macpherline, Duncan--Servt. to Will. & H. Sterling; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. (87)

Malcome, Jane--Servt. to A. Grant; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. (87)

-----, (?)--Her child. (87)

Ord, Walter--Servt. to Andrew Grant; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. (91)

Pendrick, Will.--Servt. to Andrew Grant; arrived 1 Aug. 1734.

(92)

Polwart, Jo.--Servt. to Will. & H. Sterling; arrived 1 Aug.

1734. Boatman to Jo. Latter. Died at Frederica. Dead 1738. (93)

Pouvroy, Jo.--Servt. to Ja. Houston; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. (93)

Pouvroy, Martha--Servt. to Ditto; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. (93)

Purdee, Jo.--Servt. to A. Grant; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. (93)

Ready, Tho.--Servt. to Patrick Houston; arrived 1 Aug. 1734;

dead 1 Sept. 1738. (93)

Retford, Robt.<sup>7</sup>--Servt. to Jos. Wardrope; arrived 1 Aug.

1734; Lot 194 in Savannah. On expiration of his service, this lot was granted to him April 1737. His widow marry'd Jo. Goldwire who lives with her on this lot. Dead June 1738. (93)

Ross, Hugh<sup>8</sup>--Servt. to Will. & H. Sterling; arrived 1 Aug.

1734. Carpenter & labourer. (94)

Ross, James--Servt. to Patrick Houston; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. (95)

Rottray, Alexr.--Servt. to Patrick Houston; arrived 1 Aug.

1734. (95)

Rutterford, Jo.--Servt. to Andrew Grant; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. (95)

Scot, James--Servt. to A. Grant; arrived 1 Aug. 1734; out of his time. (95)

Scot, John--Servt. to Andrew Grant; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. (95)

Sinclair, Archibald--Servt. to Patrick Houston; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. (96)

Sterling, Hugh--Gent.--arrived 1 Aug. 1734. 14 Nov. 1733, he had a grant of 500 acres. Hugh & William settled at Sterlings Bluff on the Ogykee River, but after some years cultivation abandon'd their impromts. to live in Savannah, where they

wasted their substance; they quitted before Sept. 1737. Dead  
1740. (97)

Steward, Cha.--Servt. to Andrew Grant; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. (97)

Tailfer, Patrick<sup>9</sup>--Surgeon, arrived 1 Aug. 1734. Settled at  
first on the river Wese,<sup>10</sup> but quitted to practice surgery in  
Savannah. He had a grant of 500 acres 18 Oct. 1733. A proud  
saucy fellow and a kingleader for allowance of Negroes & change  
of tenure. Went away to Carolina for fear of the Spaniards  
31 Aug. 1740. Quitted 30 (sic) Aug. 1740. (98)

Taylor, Alexr.--Servt. to Will. & H. Sterling; arrived 1 Aug.  
1734; out of his time. (98)

Thompson, Jo.--Servt. to Jo. Baillie; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. (98)

Todd, Andrew--Servt. to Will. & H. Sterling; arrived 1 Aug.  
1734. (99)

Trumbull, Ja.--Servt. to Will. & H. Sterling; arrived 1 Aug.  
1734. (99)

Ure, Rachel--Servt. to Patrick Tailfer; arrived 1 Aug. 1734;  
quitted, dead 1741. (100)

Wardrope, Jos.<sup>11</sup>--Age 35; carpenter; arrived 21 Aug. 1734; Lot  
211 in Savannah. He had a grant of 150 acres 30 Jan. 1733-4.  
In 1738, he let this town lot (to) Patrick Graham who off of  
5 acres had 20 bushells of Indian corn, 10 of potatoes, and  
100 of rice. A Rioter in open court 20 Oct. 1737. Quitted with  
his family to Carolina May 1742. (100)

-----, Jane, w.--Age 42. (100)

-----, Elenor, d.--Age 13. (100)

Wilkee, Tho.--Servt. to Patrick Tailfer; arrived 1 Aug. 1734.  
(102)

Part II: There were, according to The Egmont List, 164 men, women and children aboard the Prince of Wales, Captain Dunbar, which sailed from Inverness in October 1735. List A identifies the twenty-six who came "on the charity;" list B gives the names of the 138 persons who came otherwise.

List A:

Bain, Jo. of Lochain<sup>1</sup>--Age 45; Tr. servant; embark'd 20 Oct. 1735; arrived 10 Jan. 1735-6. (3)

Calder, Will.--Age 20; Tr. servt. for 4 years; embark'd 20 Oct. 1735; arrived 10 Jan. 1735-6. Made by Col. Oglethorpe at the expiration of his service a soldier of the highland Independt. Compy. & as such returned 6 May 1741. (7)

Denune, Jo.--Age 26; Tr. servt.; embark'd 20 Oct. 1735; arrived 10 Jan. 1735-6. (13)

Gordon, James--Age 23; Tr. servt.; embark'd 20 Oct. 1735; arrived 10 Jan. 1735-6. (19)

Macbean, Will.--Age 17; Tr. servt.; embark'd 20 Oct. 1735; arrived 10 Jan. 1735-6. Living at Darien, still a servant. 6 May 1741. (31)

Macdonald, Geo.<sup>2</sup>--Age 19; of Tar. (Tarbert, Ross and Cromarty)<sup>3</sup> (31)

Macdonald, Hugh--Age 37; of Tar. labourr.; Tr. servt.; embark'd 20 Oct. 1735; arrived 10 Jan. 1735-6. (32)

Mackay, Alexr.--Age 26; of Lange;<sup>4</sup> labourr.; Tr. servt.; 20 Oct. 1735;(sic) arrived 10 Jan. 1735-6. (32)

Mackay, Angus--Age 19; of Tonge; Labourr.; Tr. servt.; embark'd 20 Oct. 1735; arrived 10 Jan. 1735-6. (32)

Mackay, Angus--Age 28; of Andratichlis (Eddrachillis, Sutherland); Tr. servt.; embark'd 20 Oct. 1735; arrived 10 Jan.



1735-6. (32)

Mackay, Bain Donald--Age 39; of Tar. labourr.; Tr. servt.;  
embark'd 20 Oct. 1735; arrived 10. Jan. 1735-6. (32)

Mackay, George<sup>5</sup>--Age 20; of Tar.; labourr.; Tr. servt.; em-  
bark'd 20 Oct. 1735; arrived 10 Jan. 1735-6. (33)

Mackay, John<sup>6</sup>--Age 22; of Tonge; labourr.; Tr. servt.; embark'd  
20 Oct. 1735; arrived 10 Jan. 1735-6. Out of his time. (33)

Mackay, Niel--Age 40; of Tar.; Tr. servt.; embark'd 20 Oct.  
1735; arrived 10 Jan. 1735-6. Living at Darien still a  
servt.: 6 May 1741 but said to be then but 23 years old. (33)

Mackay, Will.--Age 24; of Tar.; Tr. servt.; embark'd 20 Oct.  
1735; arrived 10 Jan. 1735-6. (33)

Mackay, Will.<sup>7</sup>--Age 18; of Tar.; cooper; Tr. servt.; embark'd  
20 Oct. 1735; arrived 10 Jan. 1735-6. (33)

Mackintosh, Adam--Age 22; of Lange; labourr.; Tr. servt.; em-  
bark'd 20 Oct. 1735; arrived 10 Jan. 1735-6. (33)

Mackintosh, Cath. Monro, w.--Age 25; embarked 20 Oct. 1734  
(sic); arrived 10 Jan. 1735-6. (33)

Mackintosh, Jo.--Age 21; of Inverness; labourr.; Tr. servt.;  
embark'd 20 Oct. 1734 (sic); arrived 10 Jan. 1735-6. Kill'd  
or taken prisoner; I believe at Moosa June 1741, leaving a  
widow and 3 children. (33)

Macleod, Angus--Age 17; of Apint.; labourr.; Tr. servt.; em-  
bark'd 20 Oct. 1735; arrived 10 Jan. 1735-6. Of the Highland  
Independent Company & so return'd by Col. Oglethorpe 6 May  
1741. (34)

Monro, Hector--Age 19; of Tonge.; labourr.; Tr. servt.; em-  
bark'd 20 Oct. 1735; arrived 10 Jan. 1735-6. (36)

Morchison, Jo.-Age 30; of Kildruth; labourr.; Tr. servt.;

embark'd 20 Oct. 1735; arrived 10 Jan. 1735-6. (36)

Morrison, Hugh<sup>8</sup>--Age 22; of Tonge; labourr.; Tr. servt.; embark'd 20 Oct. 1735; arrived 10 Jan. 1735-6. Of the high-land independt. company, & so return'd by Col. Oglethorpe 6 May 1741. (36)

Murray, Alexr.--Age 26; of Rogart; labourr.; Tr. servt.; embark'd 20 Oct. 1735; arrived 10 Jan. 1735-6. (37)

Shearer, Donald--Age 16; of Tonge; labourr.; Tr. servt.; embark'd 20 Oct. 1735; arrived 10 Jan. 1735-6. (47)

Sutherland, Robt.--Age 35; of Leath.; labourr.; Tr. servt.; embark'd 20 Oct. 1735; arrived 10 Jan. 1735-6. (51)

#### List B

Anderson, Ja.<sup>9</sup>--Age 25; joyner; embark'd 20 Oct. 1735; arrived 10 Jan. 1735-6.<sup>10</sup> Lot 235 in Savannah. He was possesst of his lot 1 May 1737, but neglects it, & lives on his br. John's lot in Savannah No. 190, which John was not arrived in 1738. (62)

Baillie, James, servt. to Kenneth Baillie--Age 33. (62)

Baillie, John of Fortrose--Farmer; Dead April 1737. (63)

Baillie, Kenneth<sup>11</sup>--Age 20; farmer; Ensign to the Darien Company, taken by the Spaniards at Moosa and made his escape from St. Sebastian to England Jany. 1741/2 and return'd to Georgia March 1741-2. (63)

Bain, Kenneth--Age 18; servt to Alex. Tolmie; (63)

Bain, Will., of Thuso--Age 19; taylor; (63)

Burges, Joseph--Slayn at the seige of Augustine June 1740 & left a wife & child at Darien living 6 May 1741. Dead June 1740. (66)

-----<sup>8</sup>. Mart<sup>a</sup>., w.--Margt. Burges widow of Joseph. Resident

at Darien 6 May 1741. (66)

Cameron, Alexr.--Slayn at the seige of Augustine June 1740  
& left only a widow of (sic) Darien 6 May 1741. Dead June  
1740. (66)

Campbell, Colin, gent.--Age 27; (66)

Chisholme, Alexr. of Invernes--Age 26; servt. to Farqr. McGilivray; run away to Carolina Aug. 1742. (67)

Chisholme, Alexr. of Dronach<sup>12</sup>--Age 17; servt. to Mr. Mackay  
of Scourie; (67)

Chisholme, Margt.--Age 22; servt. to J. Sinclair; (67)

Clark, Donald<sup>13</sup>--Age 23; of Dorris. Farmer; (67)

Clark, Donald--Age 42; of Tongie; slayn at Augustine June 1740  
and left a wife and 4 children living at Darien 6 May 1741. (68)

-----, Barbara Grey--Age 40; w. Resident at Darien 6 May  
1741. (68)

-----, Alexr., son--Age 15; dead as suppos'd. (68)

-----, Geo., son--Age 13; dead I suppose. (68)

-----, Barbara, d--Age 2; dead I suppose. (68)

-----, Angus,<sup>14</sup> son--Age 5. Living at Darien 6 May 1746 (sic).  
(68)

-----, Hugh,<sup>15</sup> son--Age 12. A soldier in the highland Inde-  
pendt. Company, and return'd as such 6 May 1741. (68)

-----, Will.,<sup>16</sup> son--Age 8. Living at Darien 6 May 1746 (sic).  
(68)

Clark, Hugh--Age 21; of Dorris. Farmer; A soldier in the  
highland Independt. Company, and return'd as such 6 May  
1741. is Serjt. of ye Compy. (68)

Crooks,<sup>Shaw</sup> Rob.--Servt. to Farqr. McGilivray; Col. Oglethorpe  
writes that he was grown blind in the Trustees service and

therefore he allow'd him 5 pence a day subsistence; But he went from Scotland a servt. to Farquar Macgilivray not on the Trustees acct. and how he came to fall upon the Trust or when I know not. Alive at Darien 6 May 1741. (69)

Cuthbert, George<sup>17</sup>-- Of Inverness. Farmer. Settled at Darien. I find him a cattle hunter with 6 servants from 18 Sept. 1738 to 18 June 1739 at the annual expence of 174 £ and Mr. Oglethorpe writes that it is absolutely necessary to continue this charge., (70)

Cuthbert, Jo.--Age 31; of Draikes<sup>18</sup>, gent.; Grant of 500 acres made him 3 Sept. 1735 which he took up at Joseph's Town but afterwards abandon'd and settled at Darien or New Inverness. In 1736 Mr. Oglethorpe made him commander of Fort Saint Andrews. Dead 16 Nov. 1739. (70)

Dunbar, John--Age 36; of Inverness. Farmer; dead 1740. (72)

Forbes, Hugh--Servt. to Will. & Hugh Sterling. (74)

Frazer, Donald of Abercoun --Servt. to Patrick Grant. (74)

Frazer, Donald of Inverness -- Age 20; Servt. to Alexr. Mackintosh. (74)

Frazer, Donald of Ditto--Age 22, Servt to Jo. Cuthbert of Draikes. (74)

Frazer, Donald of Kingussie--Age 25; servt. to Jo. Mackintosh. (74)

Glass, John --Age 18; Servt. (75)

Grant, John<sup>19</sup>--Age 18; servt. to Patrick Grant. (76)

Grant, Patrick--Age 24; of Aberlour. Farmer; lot 166 in Savannah. A grant of 100 acres was made him 19 May 1736 and this lot was granted him same year, but he neglects both & has taken 2 other lots in the town at rent from the owners,

Tything man 1738 and a pert sawcy fellow. Kill'd in duel  
1740. (76)

Gun, Will.--Age 30; Servt. to Mr. Mackay of Scourie; out of  
his time. (77)

Kennedy, Will.<sup>20</sup>--Age 22; Taylor. Servt. to Jo. Cuthbert of  
Draikes; A tailor. Out of his time. Run away with his fami-  
ly to Carolina, Aug. 1742. (81)

Macbean, Archibald ---Age 26; of Aberlaur. Farmer. Return'd  
dead 1740. Dead 1740. (83)

-----, Cath. Cameron, w.--Age 21. (83)

-----, Alexandr., son--Dead 1740. (83)

Macbean, Duncan--Age 21; servt. to Jo. Mackintosh, Holmes  
son. (83)

Macbean, McWillie Jo. -- Age 27; servt. to Jo. Spence. (83)

Macdonald, Donald<sup>21</sup>--Age 22. Living at Darien. Still a ser-  
vant 6 May 1741. (83)

Macdonald, Alvine Wood, w. -- Age 20. Alias Winwood Mcdonald.<sup>22</sup>  
Alive at Darien 6 May 1741. (83)

Macdonald, Rainold -- Age 18; Servt. to Jo. Mackintosh of  
Kingussie junr.; of Darien of the highland company of Rangers  
6 May 1741. There was one of both names kill'd or made  
prisoner at Moosa June 1740 who left a wife & 4 children at  
Darien 6 May 1741. Qy. if this be he. (83)

Macgilivray, Farquar -- Age 30; servt. to J. Cuthbert of  
Draikes. (83)

Macgilivray, Lachlan<sup>23</sup>-- Age 16; servt. to Jo. Mackintosh,  
Holmes son. (83)

Mac-Inver, Murdow--Servt. to J. Cuthbert of Draikes. (84)

Mackay,<sup>24</sup>(?)-- of Scourie.



Mackay, (?)<sup>25</sup> -- of Strothie. Gent. (84)

Mackay, Cha. -- Age 17; of Tar; Ensign to the highland Independent Company, & so returned by Col. Oglethorpe 6 May 1741. (84)

Mackay, James -- Age 17; of Tar; Of Darien; Slain at the Siege of Augustine. June 1740. (84)

Mackay, Ja. -- Age 40; of Durnes. Farmer. Slain or made prisoner at Hoosa June 1740. Left a wife 7 4 children.<sup>26</sup> (84)

-----, Barbara McLeod, w. -- Age 36. Alive at Darien with her 4 children. (84)

-----, Barbara, d.--Age 17. Alive at Darien, but said then to be only 11 years old. (84)

-----, Donald, son. Age 9. Alive at Darien 6 May 1741. (84)

-----, Jeanne, d. Age 6. (84)

Mackay, John--Age 56; of Durnes. Farmer. (84)

-----, Jannet, w.--Age 32. (84)

-----, Eliz. d. (84)

-----, Hugh, son--Age 18. (84)

-----, John, son--Age 3. (84)

-----, Mary, d. (84)

-----, Will., son--Age 6.

Mackay, Jo. -- Age 50; of Lairg. (84)

-----, Jannet Mackintosh, w.--Age 40. Alive at Darien 6 May 1741. (84)

-----, Donald, son--Age 6. (84)

-----, Jeanne, d.--age 2. (84)

-----, Patrick, son--Age 7 (84)

Mackimmie, Alexr. --Age 50; labourer. (85)

Mackintosh, Benj.-- Age 50; of Dorris. Farmer. (85)

Mackintosh, Cath., w.--Age 45. Alive at Darien 6 May 1741. (85)

-----, Eliz., d.--Age 20. (85)

-----, Jannet, d. -- Age 18. (85)

-----, Lachlan, son--Age 12. Living at Darien 6 May 1741 but said to be only 13 years old at that time. (85)

Mackintosh, Donald<sup>27</sup>--Age 20; of Inverness. Servt. to Alexr. Mackintosh. (85)

Mackintosh, George<sup>28</sup>--Age 21; of Durnes; taylor. (85)

Mackintosh, Jo. -- Age 50; Senr. of Dornes. Farmer alive at Darien 6 May 1741. (85)

-----, Cath., w.--Age 47. (85)

-----, Alexr., son -- Age 8. Living at Darien 6 May 1741.

-----, Beatrix, d.--Age 5. Living at Darien 6 May 1741. (85)

-----, Will., son -- Age 12. Of the Highland Compy. of Rangers & so return'd by Col. Oglethorpe 6 May 1741. (85)

Mackintosh, Jo. -- Age 15; farmer. Of the Highland Company of Rangers, and as such return'd by Col. Oglethorpe 6 May 1741. (85)

Mackintosh, Jo.-- Age 21; of Dorris. Farmer; Mackintosh, Jo. Holmes went to settle in Carolina. Dec. 1740. Quitted Dec. 1740. (85)

Mackintosh, John -- Age 24; of Inverness. Farmer; son of Holmes. One of both names was killed at Moosa or made prisoner June 1741. Qy. if this be he. The man left a wife & child at Darien 6 May 1741.<sup>29</sup> (85)

Mackintosh, Jo. -- Age 36; Junr. of Kingussie. Farmr. (85)

-----, Margt., w.--Age 30. Alive at Darien 6 May 1741. (85)

Mackintosh, John -- Age 50; of Dornach. (86)

<sup>30</sup>  
Mackintosh, Moor Jo.--Gent.; Chief of Darien. See his family.  
Keeper of the Store at Darien 1739. Taken at Moosa in 1740 &  
now a prisoner in Spain Nov. 1741, where if he dies he will  
leave a widow & 6 children in Darien. At the seige of Aug-  
ustine Col. Oglethorpe made him Capt. of the Highland Company.  
He has a wife & 6 children at Darien 6 May 1741.

-----, (?), w.<sup>31</sup> -- Resident at Darien with her 6 chil-  
dren 6 May 1741. (86)

-----, John,<sup>32</sup> son--Age 8. Alive at Darien. (86)

-----, Lachlan,<sup>33</sup> son--Age 9. (86)

-----, Margt., d. -- Age 18. (86)

-----, Will.,<sup>34</sup> son--Age 10. (86)

-----, Phineas, son--Age 3. Alive at Darien 1741. (86)

Mackintosh, Robert of Moy -- Age 20; servt. to Ja. Maqueen.  
(86)

Mackintosh, Roderick<sup>35</sup> -- Age 19; farmer. Of the Highland  
Company of Rangers & so return'd by Col. Oglethorpe 6 May  
1741. (86)

Maclean, Allan--Age 21; of Inverness. Farmer. (86)

Maclean, Alexr. -- Age 32; of Inverness. Farmer; dead Mar.  
1739/40. (86)

Maclean, George -- Age 30; of Ardelack.<sup>36</sup> Farmer. (86)

Maclean, John -- Age 20; servt. to Robert Macpherson of  
Alvie. (86)

Macleod, Angus of Hawnick--Age 17; weaver; servt. to Mackay  
of Strothie. (86)

Macleod, Donald<sup>37</sup> of Tar--Age 18, labourer; servt. to Mackay  
of Strothie. Of the Highland Independt. Company, and so

return'd by Col. Oglethorpe 6 May 1741. (86)

Macleod, Donald of Tar--Labourer; servt. to Mackay of Strothie.  
(86)

Macleod, George--Age 17; labourer; servt. to Mackay of Stro-  
thie. (87)

Macleod, Hugh<sup>38</sup>--Scots minister at Darien. A grant of 300 acres  
to him & his successors as ministers at the Darien for reli-  
gious uses was made out 1739. Quitted the Colony 1741. Quitted  
1740. (sic) (87)

Macleod, Hugh--Age 21; labourer; servt. to Mackay of Strothie.  
Of the Highland Independt. Company & so return'd by Col. Ogle-  
thorpe 6 May 1741. (87)

Macleod, Hugh--Age 18; labourer; servt. to Mackay of Strothie.  
Of the Highland Independt. Company & so return'd by Col. Ogle-  
thorpe 6 May 1741. (87)

Macleod, John--Age 18; labourer; servt. to Mackay of Strothie.  
Of the Highland Company of hangers and so return'd by Col.  
Oglethorpe 6 May 1741. (87)

Macmurrwick, Alexr.--Age 20; servt. to Colin Campbell. (87)

Macoul, Alexr. -- Age 30; servt. to Mackay of Scourie. (87)

Macpherson, Norman -- Age 24; labourer. (87)

Macpherson, Robt.--Age 24; of Alvie; farmer. (87)

Macqueen, Ja.--Age 19; of Inverness. (87)

Macqueen, James -- Age 19; his servant. (87)

Main, Geo. -- Age 23; servt. to Donald Steward. (87)

Miller, David<sup>39</sup>--Age 26; servt. to Mackay<sup>5</sup> of Strothie. Of  
the Highland Independt. Company & so return'd by Col. Ogle-  
thorpe 6 May 1741. (88)

Miller, James<sup>40</sup> -- Age 18; servt. to Ja. Anderson. (88)

Monro, Alexr. -- Age 30, of Inverness; farmer. Return'd  
dead 1740. (89)

-----, Margt., w.--Age 27. (89)

-----, Isabel, d.--6 m. old. (89)

Monro, Alexr. -- Age 24; of Dornoch; labourer; dead 1740. (89)

Monro, Donald -- Age 45; of Alnit Rossit;<sup>41</sup> labourer. (89)

Monro, John -- Age 16; of Alnit Rossit; labourr. (89)

Monro, John -- Age 21; of Kiltairn;<sup>42</sup> labourr. (89)

Monro, Robt. -- Age 17; of Dornoch; labourr. (89)

Monro, Will. -- Age 12; of Dornach; labourr. (89)

Monro, Will. -- Age 40; of Durnes; farmer. Of the highland  
company of Rangers and so return'd by Col. Oglethorpe 6 May  
1741. (89)

-----, Eliz., d.--Age 17. (89)

-----, Margt., d.--Age 14. (89)

Morrison, Cath. of Durnes--Age 22; servt. to Will. Monroe.(90)

Morison, Hugh--Age 23; farmer. A Highland Ranger, and so  
return'd by Col. Oglethorpe 6 May 1741. (90)

Murray, Alexr. -- Age 17; labourer. (90)

Murray, Jo.<sup>43</sup>--Age 25; servt. to Mackay of Scourie; out of  
his time. (90)

Ross, Hugh of Drenach--Age 36; servt. to Mr. Mackay of Scourie.  
Living at Darien still a servant 6 May 1741 but said to be  
54 years old. (94)

Ross, James -- Miller; of Waffin.<sup>44</sup> (95)

Sinclair, John -- servt. to Jo. Mackintosh of Dorres. (96)

Spence, John -- Age 36; servt. to Jo. Cuthbert of Draikes. (97)



Steward, Donald -- Age 48; of Inverness; mariner; Lot 207  
in Savannah. Master of a sloop; drowned in sailing within  
Portroyal sound. Drown'd April 1740. (97)

-----, Jeanne, w.--Age 35. (97)

-----, (?), son --Age 8. (97)

-----, Anne, d.--Age 8. (97)

-----, John, son--Age 11. (97)

Stewart, David -- Age 23; of Cromdale; surgeon. (97)

Sutherland, Alexr. -- Age 30; servt. to Mr. Mackay of Scourie.  
(97)

. Tolmie, Alexr. --Age 36; Farmer. Lot vacant he died without  
heirs. Dead 16 Nov. 1736, (99)

Watson, Hugh--Age 18; servt. to Tho. Baillie; murd. at sea  
June 1739. (100)

Part III: The passenger list of the Loyal Judith, Captain Thomp-  
son, which reached the colony in November 1737 numbered some 106  
persons: thirty-nine servants on the Trustees' charge; fifty-six  
unauthorized servants; ~~and~~ ten persons presumed to be English  
and one Scottish woman, Ann Cuthbert,<sup>1</sup> who paid their own way.  
The Trust servants will be found in List A; the unauthorized ser-  
vants are recorded in List B. The Englishmen have been identi-  
fied elsewhere.

#### List A:

Cameron, Jo.-- Age 18; Tr. Servt.; embark'd 24 June 1737;  
arrived 20 Nov. 1737.<sup>2</sup> (8)

Cameron, John--Age 20; Made a Ranger by Col. Oglethorpe at  
the expirations of his service, and as such return'd living

6 May 1741. (8)

Clearness, Alexr. -- Age 24; Living at Darien, & still a servant 6 May 1741.

Dollas, Duncan--Age 21; He was School Master at Highgate & ret. to Engld. with Mr. Whitfeild (sic) 2 Jan. 1740/1. He returned School Master and Register of Savannah 1741. (14)

Ferguson, Geo. -- Age 17. (15)

Frazer, John--Age 21; Living at Darien still a servant 6 May 1741. (17)

Frazer, John--Age 28; out of his time. (17)

Gordon, Donald--Age 16. (19)

Grant, Jo.--Age 19. (19)

Macbean, Will.-- Age 17. Living at Darien still a Tr. Servant 6 May 1741. (31)

Macbean, Will.--Age 21. (31)

Macdonald, Archibald--Age 22. (31)

Macdonald, Donald--Age 16. (31)

Macdonald, Dugald--Age 40. (31)

MacEever, Evander -- Age 22. (32)

Macgilivray, Duncan<sup>3</sup>--Age 24.(32)

Macgruer, Alex.--Age 30.(32)

Macgruer, als. Frazer, Jo.--Age 24. (32)

Mackany, Rodorick--Age 20. (32)

Mackay, als. Morison, Robt.--Age 23. (33)

Mackay, Will. -- Age 19. Liv. (33)

Mackensie, Alexr.--Age 24. (33)

Mackensie, Donald<sup>4</sup>--Age 22. (33)

Mackensie, Jo.--Age 29. (33)

Mackensie, Tho. -- Age 23. Living at Darien still a servt.

6 May 1741. (33)

Mackensie, Will.--Age 17. Living at Darien still a servt 6

May 1741. (33)

Macleod, Alexr. -- Age 19. (34)

Macleod, Evan--Age 16. (34)

Macleod, Roderick<sup>5</sup>--Age 24. Of the Highland Independt. Company, & so return'd by Col. Oglethorpe 6 May 1741. (34)

Macleod, Rodorick--Age 26 (34)

MacLain, Alexr. -- Age 36. (34)

Macpherson, Jo.--Age 20. (34)

Macpherson, Jo.--Age 20 (34)

Rose, Donald -- Age 25. Of the Highland Independt. Company & so return'd by Col. Oglethorpe 6 May 1741. (44)

Ross, Will.--Age 32. (45)

Ross, Will. -- Age 25.

Stewart, Donald--Age 24; drownd 1741. (50)

Stewart, James<sup>6</sup>--Age 27. Of the Highland Company of Rangers & so return'd by Col. Oglethorpe 6 May 1741. Out of his time. (50)

Stronach, Michl.--Age 16. (51)

#### List B:

Cameron, Jannet--Age 26; servt. for 4 yrs.; embark'd 19 Nov.

1737; arrived 14 Jan. 1737-8. Hired & carry'd at Capt.

Thompson the owners risk, but the planters unable to pay

for her, Mr. Causton without orders took her on the Trustees

Acct. and certified the same which made us lyable

for the charge.<sup>7</sup> (8)

Cameron, John--Age 27; servt. for 4 yrs. (8)  
 Davison, Edwd.--Age 16; Tr. servt. for 5 yrs.  
 Duncan, Geo.--Age 38; servt. for 4 yrs. (14)  
 Forsyth, Cath. --Age 19; servt. for 4 years. Dead. (16)  
 Forsyth, Margaret--Age 20; servt. for 4 years. (16)  
 Frazer, Anne--Age 35; servt. for 4 years. (16)  
 Frazer, Cath.--Age 16; servt. for 4 years. (16)  
 Frazer, Henrietta--Age 16; servt. for 5 years. (17)  
 Frazer, Hugh--Age 19; servt. for 5 years. (17)  
 Frazer, Jannett--Age 18; servt. for 4 years. Alive at Darien  
 6 May 1741. (17)  
 Gaddis, Jā.--Age 21; servt. for 4 yrs. (17)  
 Gaddis, John--Age 20; servt. for 4 yrs. (17)  
 Graham, Cath.--age 24; servt. for 5 years. (19)  
 Grant, Christian--Age 16; servt. for 5 yrs. (19)  
 Grant, Gilbert<sup>8</sup>--Age 9; servt. 10 yrs. & ½; Return'd by Col.  
 Oglethorpe to be a soldier in the Highland Independt. Compy.  
 6 May 1741. (19)  
 Grant, Jo. --Age 15; servt. 9 yrs. Return'd by Col. Oglethorpe  
 to be a soldier in the Highland Independt. Compy. 6 May 1741.  
 (19)  
 Grant, Peter<sup>9</sup>--Age 18; servt. 5 years. (19)  
 Grant, Will--Age 14; servt. 10 yrs. (20)  
 Grey, Jo.<sup>10</sup>--Age 50; servt. 3 yrs. (20)  
 Gun, Geo.--Age 18; servt. 6 yrs. (20)  
 Hyland, Dominick--Age 15; servt. 5 years<sup>4</sup> (25)  
 Jones, Mary--Age 17; Servt. for 4 yrs. to Wid. Vanderplank.  
 (26)  
 Kemp, John--Age 30; servt. to Hen. Parker 4 years. (27)

-----, Janet, w. Age 30; Servt. for 4 years to Hen. Parker.

(27)

Macannon, Margt.--Age 21; servt. for 4 yrs. (31)

Macbean, Elizabeth--Age 40; servt. 4 years. (31)

Macbean, Margaret--Age 13; servt. for 7 years. (31)

Macdonald, Christian--Age 21; servt. for 4 years. (31)

Macdonald, Eliz. -- Age 19; servt. for 4 yrs; alive at Darien  
6 May 1741 but named Hellen. (31)

Macdonald, Florenica--Age 20; servt. for 1 yrs.; alive at  
Darien 6 May 1741. (31)

Macdonald, Rachel --Age 19; servt. for 4 yrs. (32)

MacEever, Rodorick--Age 22; servt. for 4 yrs. (32)

Macgregor, Gregy.--Age 18; servt. for 5 yrs. (32)

Macgruer, Anne--Age 4; servt. for 20 yrs. (32)

Mackensie, Andrew--Age 24; servt. for 5 years. Dead about  
June 1738. (33)

Mackintosh, Donald--Age 22; servt. for 5 yrs. (33)

Mackintosh, Isabel--Age 18; servt. for 4 yrs. Alive at  
Darien 6 May 1741. (33)

Mackintosh, Mary -- Age 20; servt. for 4 yrs. (34)

Mackintyre, Hugh -- Age 18; servt. for 7 yrs. (34)

Maclean, Jo.--Age 30; servt. 4 years. (34)

Macleod, Cath.--Age 19; servt. for 4 years. (34)

Martin, John--Age 21; servt. for 4 yrs. (34)

Monro, Donald -- Age 16; servt. for 7 yrs. 'Dead about June  
1738. (36)

Monro, John--Age 15; servt. 7 yrs. Dead about June 1738. (36)

Murray, Christian--Age 18; servt. for 4 yrs. Alive at Darien



6 May 1741. (37)

Rose, Donald--Age 7; servt. for 17 years. (44)

Ross, Daniel--Age 16; servt. for 6 years. Dyed at Darien.

Dead 1738. (45)

Stewart, Donald --Age 30; servt. for 4 years. Shot by accidt.

6 Aug. 1741. (50)

Stronach, John -- Age 28; servt. for 3 yrs. An invalid (at Darien May 6, 1741). (51)

-----, Cath., w.--Age 35; servt. for 3 yrs. Alive at Darien 6 May 1741. (51)

Swinney, Jeremy -- Age 18; servt. for 4 yrs. (51)

Taylor, Joseph--Age 25; servt. for 4 yrs. (52)

-----, Cath., w.--Age 23; servt. for 4 yrs. (52)

Taylor, Will.--Age 17; servt. for 4 yrs. (52)

Ward, Barbara--Age 24; servt. for 4 yrs. (55)

Part IV: In addition to John Terry<sup>1</sup> who was their conductor or guide to Georgia, there were forty-three Highlanders on board the Loyal Judith, Captain John Leman, when it left Britain in September 1741. Harmon Verelst recorded their names in a letter to William Stephens on September 17, 1741.<sup>2</sup>

John Cogach, labourer & Cowherd, 33; wife, Anna Mackay, 30; sons, William, 11; Angus, 7; dts. Christian, 16; Isabel, 13.

Norman Macdonald, labourer, 32; wife, Elizabeth Mackay, 29; son, John, 6; dtr., Katherine, 9.

John Macdonald, a labourer and hunter, 32; wife, Marion

Cadiach, 29; sons, William, 4; Donald, 2; dtr., Elizabeth, 6

Donald Mackay, a labourer, 32; son, James, 8; dtr., Margaret, 12

Donald Mackay,<sup>3</sup> a labourer, 21

George Macdonald, a labourer, 22

Elizabeth Mackay, a single woman, 20

George Douglas, labourer, 28; Margaret Munro, his wife, 29; dtr., Isabell, 2

James Munro, cowherd, 33; wife, Janet Macleod, 26

John Grant, labourer, 22

William Robertson, cowherd, 21

John Macleod,<sup>4</sup> fisherman, 35

George Mackay, cowherd, 20

Anne Murray, single woman, 20

Margaret Gray, single woman, 24

Christian Lossley, a widow, 30; dtr., Katherine Mackay, 6

Isabell Mackay, a single woman, 18

Robert Sutherland, labourer, 21

William Mackay, cowherd, 21

Angus Mackay, taylor, 21

Marian Mackay, a single woman, 16

John Campbell, wood cutter, 24

Mary Jollife, a single woman, 22

Anne Cotton, a single woman, 23

-----, a single woman<sup>5</sup>

Part V: This list is a compilation of persons with Scottish names taken from The Egmont List almost entirely. At times, Egmont's record seems to be a census; for example, Aneas Mackintosh and Ludovick Grant have already been shown to be in South Carolina before coming to Georgia; nonetheless, Egmont shows them on his roster. John Brodie has been shown to be a passenger on the Two Brothers in correspondence relevant to that 1737 shipment; however, Egmont does not show a date for his arrival and thus, he is listed here. That all the persons listed by Egmont did, in fact, come to Georgia is speculative. Thomas Blair and David Boyd, both Ayrshire-<sup>are examples</sup> ~~died in Scotland~~; there is no indication apart from Egmont's notes that they ever did go. Egmont merely includes their names and information about their grants. List A enumerates those who went at the Trustees' expense; List B indicates those who went otherwise.

List A:

Calwell, Constance,<sup>1</sup> w. (8)

Cameron, Ri. --Age 35; servt. to Fra. Scot; embark'd 6 Nov. 1732; arrived 1 Feb. 1732-; abst. at Palachacolas. (8)

Christie, Tho. -- Age 32; mercht.; embark'd 6 Nov. 1732; arrived 1 Feb. 1732-3; lot 19 in Savannah. Recorder of Savannah till made 1st Bailif in Hen. Parkers room 20 June 1739. But removed 25 March 1740 by letter from the Trustees & likewise suspended from being Recorder till an acct. he has made with the stores be made up. He lives in open adultery with Turners' wife and is guilty of other faults. Abt. April 1740 he left Georgia, & in June following came for England, where he proposed to stay but returned. Quitted April 1740 but to return. (10)

Clarke, Robt.--Age 37; taylor; embark'd 6 Nov. 1732; arrived 1 Feb. 1732-3; lot 22 in Savannah; dead 18 April 1734. (10)

-----, Judith, w.-- Age 29. Re-marry'd to Tho. Cross 29 June 1734 and quitted the Colony with him. Quitted Dec. 1738. (10)

-----, Cha., son--Age 11; dead. (10)

-----, James, son--Age 1; dead in the passage. (10)

-----, John, son--Age 4. (10)

-----, Peter, son--Age 3. (10)

Cunningham, Sam.--Coal seller; embark'd 15 June 1733; arrived 29 August 1733. (11)

Frazer, Margaret--Alive at Darien 6 May 1741. (17)

Graham, Jo.--Tanner & farmer; embark'd 15 June 1733; arrived 29 Aug. 1733; lot 98 in Savannah. He quitted after the 9<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1738 & went to Carolina, a riotous fellow & fyned for keeping on his hat in court 16 Sept. 1734. Quitted Dec. 1739. (19)

-----, Mary. w. (19)

-----, John, son--Dead 22 Nov. 1733. (19)

-----, Mary, d.

-----, Will., son--Dead 28 Nov. 1733. (19)

Johnson, Alexander--Taylor; embark'd 15 June 1733; arrived 29 Aug. 1733. Settled at Tybee; committed prisoner at Fort Arguile for desertion. (25)

Lauder, Samuel--Servant; embark'd 16 Aug. 1737. (29)

Macbean, Archibald<sup>2</sup>--Indian trader; arrived 16 Jan. 1737-8.

He came to Engl. to carry over Servt. and therefore the Trustees paid his passage back. (31)

Macdonald, Alexr.--Alive at Darien 6 May 1741 but an invalid. (31)



Mackay, Catherine. (32)

Huir, Ja.--Age 38; peruke maker; embark'd 8 Nov. 1732; arrived 1 Feb. 1732-3; lot 18 in Savannah. Possesst of his lot 21 Dec. 1733. Re-marry'd to Mary Woodman 29 Dec. 1734.<sup>3</sup> No cultivater of land. Ran to Carolina in 1739 and died there Sept. 1739. Quitted to Carolina 1739; dead Sept. 1739. (37)

----, Ellen, w.--Age 38; dead 10 July 1733. (37)

----, Geo., son--Embark'd 14 May 1735. (37)

----, Jo., son--Age 2. Went away to Charleston. Quitted Mar. 1732-3.

Patterson, Robt.--Accompt.; embark'd 14 Oct. 1735; arrived Feb. 1735-6; lot 21 S. in Frederica. (40)

Roberson, Jo.--Bricklayer; embark's 20 Oct. 1735; arrived Feb. 1735-6; Lot 11S in Frederica. Built a good house in 1740. (44)

Rose, Robt.--Servt. to Will. Bradley; embark'd 20 Oct. 1735; arrived Feb. 1735-6. (44)

Scot, Fra.--Age 40; reduced officer; embark'd 6 Nov. 1732; arrived 1 Feb. 1732-3; dead 2 Jan. 1733-4. (47)

Scot, John--Gunsmith; embark'd 17 Dec. 1733; arrived 12 Mar. 1733/4; Lot 144 in Savannah. Convicted of selling rum agst. law 27 Nov. 1736; and again 24 Feb. 1737/8. He ran away to Carolina for debt. Run away Mar. 1738. (47)

----, Henrietta, w. (47)

----, James, son. (47)

----, Sarah, d. (47)

Wallace, Alexr.--Shopkeeper; embark'd 15 June 1733; arrived 29 Aug. 1733. Put in possess of a lot at Tybee 2 April 1734. Dead 18 July 1734. (55)

Wilson, Ja. -- Age 21; sawyer; embark'd 6 Nov. 1732; arrived 1 Feb. 1732-3; Lot 32 in Savannah, Quitted, absent some years but ret. 1740. Bound in recognizance for assaulting the guard on duty 30 June 1734. Convicted of extortion in selling flesh meet 14 July 1735. Fynd 5 shillings for willfully destroying other mens hoggs 23 July 1735. M. Mildred d. of Robt. Moore 1 Feb. 1734-5. Quitted; absent some years but ret. 1740. (58)

List B:

Anderson, Hugh. Esq.--Arrived 27 June 1737; lot 178 in Savannah. This gentleman went over with a large family of servants as well as children, and was made Inspector Genl. of the Publick garden and mulberry plantations: but spending his substance in building, and falling dangerously ill by reason of the unhealthy situation where placed his dwelling. He in 1739 deserted the Colony and is settled in Carolina, where he teaches philosophy. His grant was of 50 acres & past 2 June 1736. It was in October 1738 that Mr. Oglethorp discharg'd him from the care of the garden to save expences. On 14 Dec. 1737 he was offered a grant of 500 acres in a younger sons name. Quitted 1739 and with his family went to Carolina. (62)

-----, Eliz., w. (62)

-----, Alexr., son. (62)

-----, Cath. d. (62)

-----, Moore, son. (62)

Baird, Robt.--A new Freeholder at Abercorn 1738 on late Geo. Stephens (lot) who departed. (63)



Bayley, Tho.<sup>4</sup>--Arrived 28 Dec. 1734; lot 206 in Savannah. He had a grant of 500 acres 3 Sept. 1735. A factious man and quitted the Colony for fear of the Spaniards 30 Aug. 1740. Quitted 30 Aug. 1740.

Blair, David<sup>5</sup>-- A grant of 500 acres was made him 4 Aug. 1736. (65)

Boyd, Tho.<sup>6</sup>-- A grant of 500 acres was made him 4 Aug. 1736. (65)

Brodie, John--Freeholder at Abercorn where he succeeded to Earl Piercy Hill's lot, 1738, and in 1738 planted 11 acres. (65)

Burnes, John--Servt. to Hugh Anderson. (66)

Burnes, Robt.--Servt. to Patrick Tailfer. (66)

Cameron, Margt.--Servt. to Abrm. Minas. (66)

Campbell, Edwd.--Servt. to Jo. Cundall; arrived 10 Jan. 1733-4. A Dutch woman. Cook on pay at 42 p ann for the Trust Servts. at Frederica March 1738-9. (66)

Campbell, James--Lot 221 in Savannah. He ran away with the Revd. Mr. John Wesley 3 Dec. 1737. This lot formerly belong'd to Will Cook<sup>5</sup> who resign'd it for lot 9 being swamp and overflow'd. An idle fellow & in debt. He return'd and was in Georgia 7 Jan. 1740/1 and was employ'd to read prayers for want of a minister. Run away for debt but returned. (67)

Clarke, John--Lot 73 (or 93) in Savannah. He marry'd the widow Dearn and lives on her Lot 29. Appointed Secy. for the Indian affairs 3 May 1738. He went over with Col. Oglethorpe 1738. Died at Frederica. Dead----- (68)

-----, (?), w. (68)

Cochran, Ja.--Lt. Col.; arrived 7 May 1738. Grant of 500 acres made him 25 Nov. 1737. He had leave in 1739 to come over & prosecute Capt. Hugh Mackay, and he is not yet allow'd by his majesty to return. (68)

Craig, Will.--Servt. (69)

Cuthbert, Jo.--run away to Carolina Aug. 1742. (70)

Douglass, David<sup>7</sup>-- Lot 170 in Savannah. His lot was granted to him in 1736. Cost in Auction of £50 sterl. debt due to Ja. Muier for 2 years rent 7 July 1737. A factious man: & went to Carolina for fear of the Spaniards 30 Aug. 1740. Quitted 30 Aug. 1740. (72)

-----, Jannet, his sister. (72)

Drisdale, James--Servt. to Hugh Anderson. (72)

<sup>8</sup>  
Dunbar, (?)--W. of Patrick Houston.

Dunbar, George, Capt.<sup>9</sup>--He had a grant of 500 acres which he took up at Josephstown: but afterwds. quitted it to settle at Darien. Now Lieut. In Oglethorp's Regiment. (72)

Dunbar, John--Lot 181 in Savannah. He went to England about Dec. 1737. Went to England Dec. 1737. (72)

Dunbar, Margt.--Servt. to Will. Bradley. (72)

<sup>10</sup>  
Fallowfield, Eliz., w.--Quitted to Carolina 1742. (73)

Ferguson, Tho.--Servt.; arrived 8 June 1737. (73)

Ferguson, Will. Master of the Scout boat. (73)

Frazer, Donald--Servt. to A. Johnson; arrived 7 May 1734.

Sentenc'd 30 lashes for assault 1734. (74)

Frazer, Will.--Servt. to A. Johnson; arrived 7 May 1734. (74)

Graham, Patrick<sup>11</sup>--Apothecary; lot 189 in Savannah. He neglects his own lot and rents lots 137.211. On 19 May 1736 a

grant of 100 acres was past to him. Marry'd Capt. Cuthbert's sister 6 March 1739/40. (76)

Grant (?), widow--Lot 9S. in Frederica. (76)

Grant, Andrew--Gent.; arrived June 1734. A grant of 400 acres was made him 18 Oct. 1733 which he took up on O'geeky river but neglects it & lives inmate at Savannah. The place was call'd Sterlings bluff, and he and Will. Sterling quitted it before Sept. 1737. He went to Carolina for fear of the Spaniards, and was a factious man. In England Jan. 1741/2. Quitted 30 Aug. 1740. Come to Engl. Jan. 1741-2. (76)

Grant, Daniel--Servt. to Ri. Kirshner. (76)

Grant, Idow --Servt. to Will. Stephens, Esq. (76)

12  
Grant, James--Servt. to Will. Stephens, Esq.; out of his time. (76)

Grant, Lodowick--A trader in the Cherokee nation. (76)

Grant, Margaret--Alive at Darien 6 May 1741. (76)

Grant, Peter--Servt. to Tho. Causton. (76)

Grey, Will.--Agent with the Chickesaw & Utchea (Uchee) Indians. (77)

Hamilton, Archibald--Patroon of the Trustees Periagua at Frederica at 18<sup>s</sup> p. ann. till 25 April 1739. (77)

Hamilton, Paul--Doubted if he went over. Grant of 500 acres made him 24 Sept. 1735.

Hay, Jenour--Servt. to Tho. Baillie. (78)

Hay, Robert--Arrived 27 June 1737. Grant of 500 acres made him 5 Oct. 1737.

Heron, Alexr.--Capt. in Oglethorps 1738 Regiment; arrived 1738. Grant of 500 acres made him 26 April 1738.

-----, (?), w.--Embark'd 1738; arrived 1738. Return'd to England Feb. 1739-40. Quitted Feb. 1739/40. (78)

-----, (?), d.--Embark'd 1738; arrived 1738. Return'd to England Feb. 1739-40. Quitted ditto time. (78)

Holmes, Saml. -- A grant was made him of 200 acres 18 April 1733. Cast in a debt of 19.11.0 July 1738, and ran to Carolina Jan. 1738/9 probably for debt. He died in Charlestown Sept. 1739. Run away. Dead Sept. 1739. (79)

Houston, Ja.--Clerk in the stores to Mr. Causton. Houston, Ja. had a plantation at Skidaway. He fled on Mr. Causton's being removed from store keeper, 2 Nov. 1738 but returned 25th. But again went away abt. Sept. 1739 having made several alterations in the books of acct. Quitted Sept. 1739. (79)

Logie, Andrew-- A lot of 50 acres in Savannah was ordered him 3 May 1738. (82)

Macbane, Lachlans<sup>13</sup>--Indian trader. On 14 June 1736 Mr. Oglethorp order'd him a lot of 500 acres & a house in Fort Augusta. In the colony at the end of year 1746.(sic) (83)

Macdonald, Ja.--Servt. Fynd 19.0.0 for enticing and carrying away servants 23 June 1734. (83)

Macdonald, John--Age 19; servt. to Donald Macdonald. (83)

Macdonald, Mary--W. of Alexr; a Soldier; embark'd 16 Aug. 1737; arrived 31 Oct. 1737. (83)

Macdonald, Rachel--Servt. to Will. Stephens, Esq. (83)

Macgilivray, Archibd.--Age 15. He had a grant of 50 acres made him 3 Sept. 1735, and on July 9 same year a town lot but I believe he took it not. (83)

Mackay, Hugh, Lt.<sup>14</sup>--Now Capt. in Oglethorpes Reg. He had a grant of 500 acres made him 24 July 1735. He quitted the



Colony and Regiment upon not being promoted to Major of the Regiment 1740. Quitted 1740. (84)

-----, Hellen, w.--Embark'd 14 Oct. 1735; arrived Feb. 1735-6. (84)

Mackay, John, Esq.--Arrived 1 Feb. 1732-3. He had a grant of 500 acres made him 3 Sept. 1735,<sup>15</sup> & took it at Josephstown, but dying, that settlement disperst. Dead 25 July 1736. (84)

Mackay, Patrick<sup>16</sup>-- Fled Scotland for a Felony. He had a grant of 500 acres made him 3 Sept. 1735, and keeps servts. on it: But also has a plantation on the Carolina side of the River Savannah, on which he keeps Negroes, which is of bad example to our planters. (84)

-----, Will., son--Arrived 1 Feb. 1732-3; lot 55 in Savannah. Took possession of his lot 21 Dec. 1733 his father quitting Josephs town his country grant, lives here with his son. Abs. 24 Feb. 1736-7. (84)

Mackay, William--Age 18; servt. to Mackay, (?) of Strothie. (85)

Mackay, Will--Age 21; of Lavig (Lairg); servt. to Mackay, (?) of Scourie. A soldier in the Independent Company of highlanders & so return'd by Col. Oglethorp 6 May 1741. (85)

Mackintosh, Donald--Age 17; servt. to John Mackintosh of Inverness. Living at Darien still a servt. 6 May 1741. (85)

Mackintosh, Eneas<sup>17</sup>-- Capt. at Fort St. George. Afterwards at Fort Palachocolas. Capt. at Fort St. George at 37.10.0 p. ann. till 16 May 1739. He was Capt. of 10 Rangers which Coll. Oglethorpe reduced 16 Dec. 1738. But continued him ½ a year longer to hunt up the Trustees wild cattel, which is

generally done in May. He afterwards was Comandr. at Fort Palachocolas, but in Feb. 1739-40 return'd to Scotland where and estate fell to him. Quitted 27 Feb. 1739/40. (85)

Mackintosh, Lachner--Age 26; servt. to Benj. Mackintosh. (86)

Mackintosh, Margt., w.--Age 23; servt. to Benj. Mackintosh. (86)

Mackintosh, Laghlan--Ranger at Fort Arguile the middle way between the Darien & Savannah. When Col. Oglethorp dismiss the 15 Rangers there he was obliged as he writes to keep on two at 24£ p. ann. each. They were paid by him till April 1739, but thinks to reduce them also when the German servants have got in their crop. He had the charge of Fort Arguile in 1740. (86)

Mackintosh, Robt.--Servt. to Saml. Davison. Employ'd in the Scout boat 1738 and another servant promised Davison in his room. (86)

Mackintosh, Sarah--Servt. to David Douglass. (86)

Maclean, John--Age 19; of Inverness. Servt. to Allan Maclean. Of the Highland Company of Rangers & so return'd by Col. Oglethorpe 6 May 1741. (86)

Maclean, Simon--Of Inverness; servt. to Allan Maclean. (86)

Macleod, Mary--Servt. to Tho. Causton. (87)

Maxwell, Primrose--Lot 8S. in Frederica.

Morison, Ambrose--Arrived 8 Feb. 1733; lot 105 in Savannah. This lot was not surveyd to him till 1737. He marry'd Anne the wid. of Will. Alfingston 26 Mar. 1734. The lot is his wives and was given her on her quitting Skidaway. Run away 1736. (90)



Morison, Cath.--Servt. to Jos. Coles; afterwd. to Isaac

Nuner; arrived 10 Jan. 1733-4. (90)

Ormiston, Tho.--A grant of 200 acres was past to him 31 March 1736. Dead Carolina Aug. 1742. (91)

Paterson, Alexr.--Son of Robt. Patterson. Supposed dead before Aug. 1741. (92)

-----, David--Son of Ditto. Supposed dead before Aug. 1741. (92)

-----, Patrick--Son of Ditto. Supposed dead before Aug. 1741. (92)

Phelps, (?)<sup>18</sup>--An Inmate at Savannah. A keeper of stores at Savannah. A factious fellow. Went to Carolina for fear of the Spaniards, and arrived in England Dece. 1740. Quitted Sept. 1740. (92)

Robertson, Andrew<sup>19</sup>

Ross, Alexander--Arrived 28 Dec. 1734; lot 220 in Savannah. He had a brother living in Edinburgh May 1737, but he is supposed dead since & that the lot is vacant. Out of his time. (94)

Scot, Hamilton--An Inmate under some criminal prosecution 7 Oct. 1736, but how it ended I know not. (95)

Sinclair, Archibald--Lot 24S, in Frederica. Tything Man in the South division of Frederica town 1738-9. (96)

-----, Isabel, w. (96)

-----, James, son--Dead before Aug. 1741. (96)

-----, Margt. d. (96)

Sinclair, Will.--Servt. to Will Bradley. (96)

Smith, James<sup>20</sup>--Arrived 27 Jan. 1733-4; lot 40 in Savannah.

Marry'd the Widow Close 8 Feb. 1733-4 and lived with her on this lot. Abt. May 1740 they both quitted the Colony to settle in Scotland on an estate fallen to him, and had leave to sell his lot to Capt. W. Thompson. Quitted May 1740. (96)

Sterling, Will. --Gent; arrived 1 June 1734. 14 Nov. 1733; he had a grant of 500 acres. On 26 May 1739, he & Andrew Grant wrote they had lost 906.2.9 by cultivating with white servants and desired consideration for it. Went to Carolina for fear of ye Spaniards. Quitted 30 Aug. 1743. (sic) (97)

Steward, (?)--Servt. to Tho. Causton. (97)

-----, (?), w. (97)

-----, (?), son. (97)

-----, (?), son. (97)

-----, (?), d. (97)

Steward, Donald--Age 23; servt. to Donald Steward of Inverness. (97)

Steward, Tho. --Boy. (97)

Stewart, Anne--Alive at Darien 6 May 1741.(97)

Stewart, Anne--Alive at Darien 6 May 1741 and then 8 years old. (97)

Watson, Joseph--An insolent vile man; this said he had a grant of 500 acres; but I don't find when, or when takne up. Twice fyn'd for sandal; again fyn'd for assaulting an Indian, and afterwds. capitally convicted of killing one, but brought in lunatick. Is now out on good behaviour. In the colony the end of the year 1746. (101)

Webster, Will.--servt. to Hugh Anderson. (101)

## Appendix

That group of Scots who came at their own expense in 1734 must be viewed as a separate entity from the rest of the Scots in early Georgia, for they were different, to be sure. The significant persons in this group were persons of wealth, else they could not have paid their own way and got the land grants that they did. That they were persons of wealth set them apart from the rest of the Scots colonists in Georgia's first decade. They were also set apart by their unhappiness. They were troublesome from the beginning, being generally called the Malcontents, and it is well documented that they were a significant force in early Georgia. They were antagonists of the establishment, a disruptive force from the start, discontented literally on landing with their lot in Georgia. They complained early of being so far removed from the center of the colony; a complaint that does not seem justified, for they were no more isolated than the Salzburgers at Ebenezer or the Highland Scots at Darien. They seem to be responsible for their complaint at failing to receive support from the Trustees. It would seem to have been incumbent upon them to have worked out fully the particulars of their venture since the terms of the grants dealt with size, conditions of planting, and the numbers of servants to be taken out.

Tailfer, chief among the Malcontents, was, at best, a man of questionable character. Despite the fact that he was responsible for the death of his servant and the abuse of his woman servant, Tailfer liked to be center stage in the midst of things. Stephens writes of him as being chairman of the "Scotch Club" meetings - the Scotch Club being another term for the Malcontents. In his edition of

A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia with comments by the Earl of Egmont, which volume was regrettably overlooked in the main body of this thesis, Clarence Ver Steeg defends Tailfer's character: however, that defense does not really seem to withstand critical study. Ver Steeg claims that there is ample reason to believe that Tailfer intended his removal from the Ogeechee to Savannah to be a temporary one. No evidence to support this notion exists, and in all of Tailfer's comings and goings, he never appears to have revisited his grant. Ver Steeg gives no indication of the basis of his thinking; there is no documentary evidence to support it. Additionally, he defends Tailfer's hiring out of his servants for extra income by alleging that it was doubtful if the doctor was sufficiently dependent on that income for it to have made much difference to him when their indentures expired. There is no indication of how long the servants were indented for, so one cannot categorically state that Tailfer would have been without income when he left Georgia six years after he arrived. Further, Ver Steeg ascribes Tailfer's prosperity during his stay in Savannah to the idea that he was the only physician in Savannah for a time.<sup>1</sup> This is indeed a curious observation in light of the volume's text which Ver Steeg himself edited and which states plainly that there was a physician in the Jewish colony: "They (the Jews) had a good Physitian with them."<sup>2</sup> This good physician was undoubtedly Dr Samuel Nunez, a Sephardic Jew, who came with his co-religionists on July 10, 1733 and remained there on lot 4 at Savannah until he left on the very same day of Dr Tailfer's departure.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the real key to Dr Tailfer's character lies in a response Ver Steeg makes to his own question as to why Tailfer should have been a Malcontent: "It seems very much in character to believe that Dr Tailfer hoped to gain a more influential role in the affairs of the colony, especially if a

greater degree of self-government should be allowed." Thus, Ver Steeg characterizes Tailfer as a political opportunist who hoped to gain by railing against injustices, real or imagined, in Georgia.

Although Tailfer may have been a political opportunist, it may be that he and the other Malcontents were philosophically Jacobites, for Egmont wrote that they found "fault with all the measures that have been taken since the Revolution except Bolingbroke's ministry."<sup>4</sup> Bolingbroke, it may be recalled, strongly supported the Stuarts over the Hanovers as successors to Queen Anne and urged James to renounce his Roman Catholic religion so that he might be named heir to the throne. James refused, and Bolingbroke ultimately fled England to join the Stuart governemtn in exile.<sup>5</sup> Thus it can be seen that Bolingbroke was loyal to the Stuart cause; if the Malcontents found fault with everyone but Bolingbroke, then surely they must have been philosophically in tune with him and by extension, then, supporters of the Stuart cause: Jacobites. Regrettably this was overlooked in the main body of the thesis.

But what of the Malcontents themselves? Were they truly Malcontent or have they been falsely accused? A careful examination of the Ver Steeg edition of A True and Historical Narrative reveals quite clearly that they were just that: Malcontents. Egmont accuses them of "Fomenting faction, petitioning against them (the magistrates) and encouraging a mutinous behaviour in open court."<sup>6</sup> They liked "no magistrates that are not chosen by themselves, nor any governments which is not of their own framing."<sup>7</sup> They inferred hardships that did not yet exist, complaining, for example, of quitrents which were not due until 1744 at the earliest.<sup>8</sup> They manipulated facts to their own end, finding, for example, fault with Oglethorpe for negotiating a



treaty with the Indians when the first settlers came,<sup>9</sup> and completely overlooking the very real contributions the Indians made to the survival of that first band of whites. Professor Ver Steeg has very interestingly interspersed the Earl of Egmont's commentary on A True and Historical Narrative into the narrative itself. He, then, tabulated Egmont's commentaries as to the nature of the remark. Of the 135 clarifications or comments that Egmont has made, 122, slightly more than ninety per cent deal with rebuttals of the Malcontents' claims. He alleges them to be falsities, misrepresentations, unjust complaints, exaggerations and so forth. There is no disputation of any of these comments by the editor.<sup>10</sup>

The Malcontents, then, played an important, if controversial, role, in early Georgia. In their unity, they provided a natural enemy for the Georgia establishment. In writing A True and Historical Narrative, they provided an important contribution to the literature of the time. As has been shown in the main body of the thesis, they were not alone in wanting land held in fee simple and slave labor. And in time, these came. Ver Steeg's assessment of Tailfer as one seeking political power is probably quite correct, for he seems to have been a very strong figure amongst his fellows. It is not too much to assume that he and they wanted to be in power so that they could control trade and licensing in the colony, for after all several had mercantile connections. Once Patrick Tailfer left for good, the internal bickering that the Malcontents had long fomented subsided. To be sure, they kept up a contact with their former home and David Douglass came back to live peacefully, but time, distance and perhaps other interests caused their discontent with the colony of Georgia to wither and ultimately die.

## Footnotes, Chapter I

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3. Jacqueline Cook, From Violence to Love: The History of DeSoto, Georgia (n.p., privately printed, 1969), p. 4
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12. Herbert E. Bolton, The Spanish Borderlands (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921), p. 60
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25. Ibid., p. 120
26. Chapman, op. cit., p. 262
27. Ibid., p. 262
28. Ibid., p. 268
29. William Roy Smith, South Carolina As A Royal Province 1719-1776 (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), p. 3; Hawke, op. cit., p. 209
30. Smith, op. cit., p. 3; B.R. Carroll, ed., "The Second Charter of South Carolina" in Johnson and Sloan, op. cit., p. 13
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33. Wesley Frank Craven, The Southern Colonies 1607-1689 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949), p. 408
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59. Ibid., p. 61

60. Deposition of Ruben Willis, n.p., May 18, 1685, in Sainsbury, PRO, II, p. 67

61. Crane, op. cit., p. 12

62. Deposition of John Edinburgh, n.p., May 5, 1685, in Sainsbury, PRO, II, p. 63

63. Sainsbury, PRO, II, p. 65

64. Ibid., p. 69

65. Ibid., p. 76

66. Ibid., p. 79

67. Crane, op. cit., p. 25

68. Sainsbury, PRO, II, p. 1

69. Ibid., p. 106

70. Ibid., p. 106

71. Altamaha; the chief's name is also sometimes seen spelled Alatomaha.

72. Sainsbury, PRO, II, p. 66

73. Governour Juan Marquez Cabrera, Saint Augustine, to the Crown, November 6, 1686, in Archives General of the Indies 54-5-12/39 (hereinafter cited as AGI)

74. "A Memorial to the King of the Hostilities committed by the Spanish against British Subjects in Carolina." in The Dunlop Papers (National Library of Scotland), p. 55

75. "The Spanish Raid of 1686" in Johnson and Sloan, op. cit., p. 52

76. Marquez Cabrera, Saint Augustine, to the Crown, AGI 54-5-12/39

77. Memorial to the King, The Dunlop Papers, p. 55

78. Sainsbury, PRO, II, p. 102

79. Memorial to the King, The Dunlop Papers, p. 55

80. Donaldson, A Short History, p. 200

81. John Prebble, The Darien Disaster: A Scots Colony in the New



- World 1698-1700 (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), p. 307; Rev. Thomas C. Pears, L.H.D., "The Design of Darien," Journal of the Department of History (Presbyterian Historical Society), XVII (March-June, 1936), p. 85
82. Governour Joseph Blake, Charleston, to an unidentified official, July 24, 1699, in Sainsbury, PKO, II, p. 107
83. Ibid., p. 107
84. Prebble, op. cit., p. 307; Pears, op. cit., p. 85
85. Prebble, op. cit., p. 307; Pears, op. cit., p. 85; Prebble says that there were only 15 survivors
86. Prebble, op. cit., p. 307; Pears, op. cit., p. 85; Tim Taylor, The Book of Presidents (New York: Arno Press, 1972), p. 298
87. John Prebble, The Lion in the North (New York: Coward, McCann & Geohegan, Inc., 1971), p. 282
88. Charles W. Arnade, The Seige of St. Augustine in 1702 (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1959), p. 4
89. Bolton and Marshall, op. cit., p. 269; Herbert E. Bolton, "Spanish Resistance to the Carolina Traders in Western Georgia 1680-1704" GHQ IX (June 1925), p. 126
90. Arnade, op. cit., p. 55
91. Ibid., p. 59
92. Ibid., p. 59
93. Ibid., p. 59
94. Chatelain, op. cit., p. 67
95. Bolton and Ross, op. cit., p. 4
96. John Jay TePaske, The Governorship of Spanish Florida 1700-1763 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1964), p. 113
97. Dumas Malone, ed. Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. VII (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), p. 128; Wallace, A Short History, p. 126
98. TePaske, op. cit., p. 115; Wallace, A Short History, p. 71; David H. Corkran, The Creek Frontier 1540-1783 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), p. 56
99. TePaske, op. cit., p. 116
100. Ibid., p. 116
101. Ibid., p. 101

102. Ibid., p. 120
103. Ibid., p. 120
104. Ibid., p. 120
105. Ibid., p. 120
106. Ibid., p. 120
107. Ibid., p. 120
108. Ibid., p. 120
109. Donaldson, A Short History, p. 124
110. John Archdale, op. cit., p. 124; the reference to Switzers means to go as mercenaries as the Swiss did, p. 124n.
111. Alexander Hewatt, An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia, Vol. I (Charleston: The Reprint Company, 1971), p. 216; Wallace, A Short History, p. 88
112. Corkran, op. cit., p. 62; Wallace, A Short History, p. 90; A discussion of Brims as a diplomatic strategist may be found in Corkran, Chapter 3, "Aftermath of the Yamassee War, 1716-1733."
113. Wallace, A Short History, p. 90
114. Sir Robert Mountgomery, Bart., A Discourse Concerning the design'd establishment of a New Colony to the South of Carolina in the Most Delightful Country of the Universe in The Most Delightful Country of the Universe: Promotional Literature of the Colony of Georgia 1717-1734, with introduction by Trevor Reese (Savannah: The Beehive Press, 1972), p. ix
115. Ibid., p. 6
116. Ibid., pp. 3, 18
117. Ibid., p. 3
118. Ibid., p. 3
119. Ibid., p. 13
120. Ibid., p. 8
121. Edwin Adams Davis, Louisiana: A Narrative History (Baton Rouge: Claitor's Book Store, 1965), pp. 43, 55
122. Wallace, A Short History, p. 126
123. Crane, op. cit., p. 233

124. Ibid., p. 234

125. Joseph W. Barnwell, ed., Journal of Col. John Barnwell (Tuscarora) in the construction of the fort on the Altamaha in 1721, The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine, XXVII (October 1926), p. 195; (Col. Barnwell became known as "Tuscarora" and "Tuscarora Jack" after he fought in the wars with the Tuscarora Indians in 1712.) (hereinafter cited SCHGM); Crane, op. cit., pp. 163, 236

126. Bessie M. Lewis, McIntosh County, Georgia (Darien: Darien News, 1966), p. 1

127. Barnwell, op. cit., p. 197

128. Ibid., p. 191

129. Wallace, A Short History, p. 127

130. Lewis, op. cit., p. 1

131. Bessie M. Lewis, They Called Their Town Darien (Darien: Darien News, 1975), p. 9

132. TePaske, op. cit., p. 127

133. Ibid., p. 127

134. Ibid., p. 127

135. TePaske, op. cit., p. 128

136. Ibid., p. 129

137. Wallace, A Short History, p. 128

138. Ibid., p. 129

139. TePaske, op. cit., p. 131

140. Ibid., p. 131

141. Crane, op. cit., p. 272

142. Ibid., p. 272

143. Ibid., p. 276

144. Ibid., p. 276

145. Ibid., p. 276

146. Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, eds., The Dictionary of National Biography from the Earliest Times to 1900, Vol V (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959-1960), p. 295 (hereinafter cited as DNB); Sir Alexander Cumming of Culter was granted a di-

ploma of Knighthood at Kensington, February 28, 1695. List of Patents of Baronetcy Recorded in the Register of the Great Seal and in the Register of Precepts of Charters to Baronets of Nova Scotia. (Typescript, West Register House, Edinburgh), Sir Alexander Cumming of Culter subscribed £200 to the Darien venture, The Darien Papers, p. 5

147. Sir. Alexander Swinton of Rusington (sic), one of the Senators of the College of Justice subscribed £400 to the Darien venture, The Darien Papers, p. 14

148. DNB, p. 295

149. Ibid., p. 295

150. Ibid., p. 295; Sir Francis J. Grant, K.C.V.O., LL. D., W.S., The Faculty of Advocates in Scotland 1531-1943 (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1944), p. 47, Cumming was called to the Faculty of Advocates, February 24, 1714 and admitted to the Middle Temple, May 12, 1716.

151. DNB, V, p. 295

152. Ibid., p. 295; Alexander Cumming's Narrative, Manuscript 1677, National Library of Scotland, p. 21.

153. Cumming Narrative, p. 295

154. Journal of Colonel George Chicken's Mission from Charleston, S.C., to the Cherokees, 1726 in Newton D. Mereness, Travels in the American Colonies (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916), p. 100n

155. Historical Relation of Facts Delivered by Ludovick Grant, Delivered by Ludovick Grant, Indian Trader, to his Excellency, the Governor of South Carolina, SCHGMA (January 1909), p. 57

156. Ibid., p. 57

157. Ibid., p. 57

158. Ibid., p. 57

159. Ibid., p. 57

160. Ibid., p. 57; Cumming's Narrative, p. 21; Cumming identifies the witnesses in addition to Grant as Joseph Cooper, interpreter; William Cooper, guide; Joseph Barker, Gregory Haines, Daniel Jenkinson, Thomas Goodale, William Hutton and John Biles.

161. DNB, p. 295

162. Colloquial American English for the opossum, a fur-bearing marsupial commonly found in the Southeastern United States.

163. Grant, op. cit., p. 57



164. Ibid., p. 57
165. Ibid., p. 57
166. DNB., p. 295
167. Ibid., p. 295
168. The Eccho, Number XCV, October 21, 1730, p. 3
169. Ibid., p. 3
170. Ibid., p. 3
171. Ibid., p. 3
172. "C.P.S.," ed., Georgia Historical Markers (Valdosta, Georgia: Bay Tree Grove Publishers, 1973), p. 337. Gold was first discovered in present Lumpkin County, Georgia, in the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains near the borders of Tennessee and South Carolina in 1828, more than two decades before the strike at Sutter's Fort. These mines yielded gold-bearing ore valued at \$45,000,000.00; at an exchange rate of approximately £1.00 for \$1.75, the rate, more or less, in late summer 1977, this puts the value in excess of £20,000,000.00 sterling.
173. The Eccho, Number XCV, October 21, 1730, p. 3
174. Ibid., p. 3
175. Grant Deposition, p. 58
176. Ainsworth R. Spofford, LL.D., et al., eds., The National Encyclopedia of American Biography (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1967), p. 157 (hereinafter cited as NCAB)
177. Grant Deposition, p. 68
178. "A Conversation between his Excellency the Governour of South Carolina and Chuconnunta a head man of the Cherokees Whose name was formerly Ouconecaw" in the Grant Deposition, p. 68
179. Ibid., p. 58
180. Ibid., p. 58
181. The Eccho, Number LXXXIX, September 16, 1730, p. 3; Sir Alexander Cumming, Fleet Street Gaol, to the Earl of Halifax, May 15, 1750, in Cumming's Narrative, p. 20
182. Robert Wright, A Memoir of General James Oglethorpe (London: Chapman and Hall, 1867), p. 17
183. Ibid., p. 5; Amos Aschbach Ettinger, James Edward Oglethorpe: Imperial Idealist (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1944), p. 50; Leslie F. Church, B.A., Ph.D., Oglethorpe: A Study of Philanthropy in



England and Georgia (London: The Epworth Press, 1932), p. 5; James, like his father Sir Theophilus and his older brother Lewis, stood for election in Haslemere, Surrey, which seat he held from 1722 until his defeat in 1754. Sensing that defeat was fairly certain, he entered two Parliamentary elections: Westminster, London, and Haslemere, Surrey. Interestingly enough, the victor at Westminster would, as Oglethorpe had already done, etch his name forever in the annals of colonial America, for he was Charles, first Marquis Cornwallis. Ettinger, p. 278.

184. Wright, op. cit., p. 9; Ettinger, op.cit., p. 17

185. Trevor R. Reese, Colonial Georgia: A Study in British Imperial Policy in the Eighteenth Century (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1963), p. 9

186. William Bacon Stevens, A History of Georgia, Vol. I (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1848), p. 62, quoted.

187. Ibid., p. 62

188. Ibid., p. 466

189. Ibid., p. 467

190. Ibid., p. 476

191. Insh, op. cit., p. 3

192. (Benjamyn Martyn) Some Account of the Designs of the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America in The Most Delightful Country, pp. xvii, 72; Martyn, the Trustees' secretary, is identified as the author, p. xvii.

193. Colonial Office Series 5, Vol. 670 (London, British Public Record Office, manuscript), p. 25 (hereinafter cited as CO)

194. Ibid., p. 25

195. Ibid., p. 25

196. Ibid., p. 26

197. Ibid., p. 26

198. Ibid., pp. 23, 26; Edith Duncan Johnston, The Houstouns of Georgia (Athens: The University of Georgia, 1950), p. 19; Dr. Houstoun died at Jamaica August 14, 1733; his address there was in care of Dr. John Cochran, Kingston.

199. The Caledonian Mercury, Number 1963, November 6, 1732, p. 9965. Most of the Mercury's news from London in this period was sent by one Wye. (Hereinafter cited as Mercury)

200. Ibid., p. 9965

201. Ibid., p. 9965

202. Ibid., p. 9965

203. E. Merton Coulter, ed., "A List of the First Shipload of Georgia Settlers" in E. Merton Coulter and Albert B. Saye, eds., A List of The Early Settlers of Georgia (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1949), p. 105.; these two lists, the one being a part of the other, are taken from an eighteenth century manuscript volume A List of Persons Who Went from Europe to Georgia on Their Own Account, or at the Trustees' Charge or Who Had Joined the Colony or Were Born in it, Distinguishing Such as had Grants there or were only Inmates. This volume has been adjudged to be the work of John Percival, sometimes Perceval, first Earl of Egmont and first president of the Georgia Trustees, pp. xii, 105. The total list, viz., that of Coulter and Saye is hereinafter cited as The Egmont List. The ship's departure and arrival dates were determined by noting The Egmont List entries of Nicholas Amatis, p. 5 and Timothy Bowling, p. 5, who are identified by Coulter as being passengers on the Anne.

204. Coulter, "Settlers," p. 110

205. E. Merton Coulter, ed., The Journal of Peter Gordon 1732-1735 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1963), p. 1; this infers that Gordon was English: "Gordon must have been a man of some standing in England."

206. A grant of land made to Christie October 26, 1732 infers that he may have been a Londoner. The grant was made to Christie, Joseph Hughes, and William Calvert of London; it is not entirely clear whether only Calvert was from London or that all three were, CO 5/670, p.27

207. Coulter, "Settlers," p. 110

208. Albert B. Saye, New Viewpoints in Georgia History (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1943), preface.

209. The Egmont List, p. 15; David Murray, The York Buildings Company: A Chapter in Scotch History (Glasgow: J. Maclehose & Son, 1883), p. 59; Stephens was appointed to his Perthshire post on December 21, 1728, at an annual salary of £200.

210. Benjamyn Martyn, London, to Oglethorpe, October 18, 1733, CO 5/666, p. 41

211. The Eccho, Number CCLXV, January 16, 1734, p. 2; Number CCXLVII, January 30, 1734, p. 4

## Footnotes, Chapter II

1. Mercury, Number 1848, February 11, 1732, p. 9506
2. Ibid., Number 1902, June 15, 1732, p. 9721
3. Ibid., Number 1917, July 20, 1732, p. 9781
4. Ibid., Number 1919, July 25, 1732, p. 9791
5. Ibid., Number 1920, July 29, 1732, p. 9796; the full spelling of "Aug." does not appear in records of the colony or in secondary sources; one, then, can only speculate that it may have been an abbreviation of Augusta, which would cause the motto to be translated "consecrated (or dedicated) colony of Georgia."
6. Mercury, Number 1920, July 29, 1732, p. 9796
7. Ibid., Number 1986, December 28, 1732, p. 10057
8. Ibid., Number 1938, September 7, 1732, p. 9865
9. Ibid., Number 1921, July 21, 1732, p. 9797
10. Ibid., Number 1923, August 3, 1732, p. 9805
11. Ibid., Number 1925, August 8, 1732, p. 9813
12. Ibid., Number 1926, August 10, 1732, p. 9817
13. Ibid., Number 1927, August 14, 1732, p. 9821
14. Ibid., Number 1938, September 7, 1732, p. 9865
15. Ibid., p. 9865
16. Ibid., Number 1949, October 3, 1732, p. 9909
17. Ibid., Number 1956, October 18, 1732, p. 9937
18. Ibid., p. 9937
19. Ibid., Number 1958, October 24, 1732, p. 9945
20. Ibid., Number 1971, November 23, 1732, p. 9997
21. Ibid., Number 2015, March 6, 1733, p. 11069
22. Ibid., Number 2019, March 15, 1733, p. 11085
23. Ibid., Number 2035, April 23, 1733, p. 12049
24. Ibid., Number 2040, May 3, 1733, p. 12069
25. Ibid., Number 2041, May 7, 1733, p. 12073

26. Ibid., Number 2072, July 17, 1733, p. 13099
27. The Echo, Number CCLXI, July 25, 1733, p.4
28. Johnston, op. cit., p. 22; CO 5/670, p. 74
29. CO 5/670, p. 74
30. Ibid., p. 74
31. CI 5/670, p. 76; Patrick Tailfer, a physician of Edinburgh, received his land grant on October 18, 1733. His father, also Patrick Tailfer, merchant and widower, age 55, married Agnes Campbell, Lady Roseburn, widow of Andrew Anderson, printer to the King, March 22, 1681; they were subsequently separated, presumably before 1690. Because her husband's finances were in great disarray, Lady Roseburn protected herself from his financial problems with an Act of Parliament in 1693. However, when she died in 1716, she willed her husband 300 marks per year for the remainder of his life; he did not live to collect very much for he died in April 1717. Both were buried in Greyfriars Kirkyard and Dr. Patrick was executor of his father's estate. John A. Fairley, Agnes Campbell, Lady Roseburn: A Contribution to the History of Printing in Scotland (Aberdeen: D.Wylie & Son, 1925), pp. 5, 7, 45; Commissariat of Edinburgh Testaments, Vol. 87: May 1, 1718-February 22, 1721 in CC8, Register House, Edinburgh, n.p.; Henry Paton, M.A., The Register of Marriages for the Parish of Edinburgh 1595-1700 (Edinburgh: The Scottish Record Society, 1905), p. 679
32. CO 5/670, pp. 76, 77; both grants were made October 18, 1733
33. CO 5/670, pp. 85, 86, 87; Robert Houstoun, "chirurgion," was a partner in John Stirling & Co., a Glasgow concern formed May 9, 1710. Richard F. Dell, compiler and ed., Glasgow Copartneries Joint Stock Companies and Ventures to 1775 (Glasgow: photoduplicated, 1971), n.p.
34. CO 5/670, p. 85
35. A discussion of the Stirlings occurs on pp. 53, 54
36. CO 5/670, p. 87
37. The Egmont List, pp., 76, 97
38. The Gentlemen's Magazine or Monthly Intelligencer, III (June 1733), p. 329
39. The Egmont List, pp. 106 n, 111n et passim
40. Ibid., p. 107n; the deceased was William Cox
41. Ibid., p. 107N; the deceased was Charles Clark
42. Ibid., pp. 106n-111n et passim



43. The Echo, Number CCLXI, December 12, 1733, p. 4
44. A discussion of these brothers will be found beginning on p. 86.
45. The Edinburgh Evening Courant, Number MDL, January 31, 1734, p. 4
46. Egmont shows Wardrope, his wife, and daughter arriving in Georgia on August 21, 1734, The Egmont List, p. 100; the others, with the exception of the vanguard, arrived on August 1, 1734, The Egmont List, pp. 64, 100 et passim. A discrepancy in Egmont's dates of arrival is apparent if a comparison of the dates of arrival of Humphrey Bright is made. According to CO 5/666, p. 43, Bright was sent aboard the Friendship, Captain Compton, which ship it will be shown subsequently was the ship used by the Scottish party. Egmont shows Bright arriving in the colony August 21, 1734, The Egmont List, p. 6; the conclusion, then, is that Egmont used two separate dates of arrival for the same ship.
47. Charles B. Boog Watson, Register of Edinburgh Apprentices 1666-1700 (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1929), p. 91
48. Charles B. Boog Watson, Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild Brethren 1701-1760 (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1930), p. 210
49. Paton, Edinburgh Marriage Register, p. 565
50. The Egmont List, p. 100
51. Henry M. Paton, M.A., ed., Register of Interments in the Greyfriars Burying Ground (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1902), p. 639; Dr. Patrick Tailfer buried two children in Morison's tomb on the east wall of Greyfriars; one was interred April 5, 1698, the other on June 16, 1698. His wife, Elizabeth Wallace, was buried May 2, 1700 at an undisclosed site in the kirkyard.
52. Charles B. Boog Watson, Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild Brethren 1406-1700 (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1929), p. 483
53. Edinburgh University Matriculation Accounts, Regents Book 1635-1695, p. 59
54. Dr. Alexander Morgan, transcriber, Matriculation Roll of the University of Edinburgh, Vol. I: 1623-1774 Arts-Law-Divinity (Edinburgh: Typescript, 1933,34), p. 70; A Catalogue of the Graduates of the Faculties of Arts, Divinity and Law of the University of Edinburgh since its Foundations (Edinburgh: Neil and Company, 1858), p. 110
55. Edinburgh Testaments, Vol. 87, n.p.
56. Waring, op. cit., p. 36



57. Joseph C. Bain, F.S.A., Scot., The Stirlings of Craigbernard and Glorat (Edinburgh: privately printed, 1883), p. 27

58. Ibid., p. 28; Sir Mungo was the son of Sir George and his second wife, Marjory, daughter of Sir William Purves of Woodhouselee.

59. Ibid., p. 28

60. Ibid., p. 28

61. The Darien Papers, p. 14; Robert was one of four Stirlings who invested £100 each in the Darien Company. The others were John Stirling, a Glasgow merchant; George Stirling, no place given, doctor of medicine, and Elizabeth Stirling, daughter of George Stirling, a deceased Edinburgh physician.

62. Johnston, op. cit., p. 22; James R. Anderson, The Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Glasgow 1583-1750 (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1925), p. 335; The Commissarot Record of Glasgow, Register of Testaments, vol. 48: February 25, 1717--February 28, 1723, p. 401.

63. Glasgow Register of Testaments, Vol. 48, p. 401

64. Ibid., p. 399

65. "Memorial for Patrick Houston, late comptroller of the Customs at Port Glasgow" in the Clerk of Penicuik Papers, GD/18/2831, National Register House, Edinburgh. Patrick's job as customs collector lasted only one year, for in June 1723, he and other officers were superseded, that is dismissed, on the basis of a report made November 15, 1722, by Humphrey Brent, customs commissioner, which related that there was "some fraud in the Tobacco trade." Houston claimed that the fraud was committed in 1721 and that Brent made his inspection "ten or fifteen days" before he (Houston) took the post.

66. Johnston, op. cit., pp. 2, 3; Patrick was related distantly to the Stirlings through his great-grandmother Margaret, daughter of Sir James Stirling of Keir.

67. Ibid., p. 22

68. The Darien Papers, p. 8; in addition to the £1,000 subscription of Patrick Houston, "merchant in Glasgow," two other Houstons subscribed like amounts to the venture, Sir John Houston of that Ilk and James Houston, his brother-german.

69. List of Patents of Baronetcy Recorded in the Register of the Great Seal in the Register of Precepts of Charters to Baronets of Nova Scotia (Typescript, West Register House, Edinburgh), p. 8; Patrick and his older brother George continued the family tradition of commerce and property ownership. George was given feu rights to two pieces of land at Port Glasgow in June 1720, Robert

Renwick, Depute Town Clerk, ed., Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow AD 1718-38 with Charters and Other Documents, A.D. 1708-38 (Glasgow: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1809), p. 88. Patrick appears to have been a wine or perhaps a wine and provision merchant before he was a customs officer, for on July 12, 1722, he sued Robert Corss (sic) of Drumdach and Janet Corbett, his spouse, for payment of six dozen bottles of claret wine delivered in June 1721. The Court of Sessions decreed that Corss pay £30 Scots, but the Lords of Council suspended the payment when it was discovered that Janet had run up debts in order to ruin her husband before she left him. Court of Sessions Records, CS 228 H/1/108, *Houstoun vs. Drumdach and His Spouse*, National Register House, Edinburgh

70. The Egmont List, p. 79; the degree of kinship between James and Patrick is not apparent.

71. Grant quit the colony and returned to England in January 1742, The Egmont List, p. 76. Baron John Grant in letters to his father-in-law, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, Lord Milton, mentions a brother Andrew. In October 1753, Alexander Grant wrote Lord Milton mentioning a bill for £500 from Andrew Grant, Lord Elchies' son, The Saltoun Papers, National Library of Scotland, pp. 31, 34, 130, 134. Andrew Grant, merchant in London, was made a burgess and guild brother in the room of his father Patrick Grant, Lord Elchies, senators of the College of Justice, July 11, 1753; Watson, Edinburgh Burgesses, p. 84

72. Mercury, Number 2487, March 11, 1736, p. 17059. This edition of the Mercury, picked at random, has advertisements which are typical of many found in this period. One says that cloth for a bleachfield at "Coupar in Fife" (sic) could be left at sites in Edinburgh, Kirkcaldy, Perth, Dundee, Montrose, and Coupar. Another offers to whiten fine linen cloth at Grats (sic) Green near Glasgow. Cloth could be left near the head of Forester's Wynd, Edinburgh, and at an office in the Trongate, Glasgow.

73. Historical Manuscripts Commission, Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont; Diary of the First Earl of Egmont (Viscount Percival). Vol. II: 1734-1738 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1923), p. 46

74. The Egmont List, pp. 64-100 *et passim*: accepting the highly probable presence of the three Wardropes and their servant, George Bunkle, as fact, the number becomes fifty-nine.

75. "A List of Vessels entered inwards at the Port of Charleston in His Majesty's Province of South Carolina for the Quarter ended at Michaelmas, 1734" in CO 5/509, p. 132; this gives the Friendship's arrival as August 2, 1734.

76. The roster of the Scottish passengers will be found in the Appendix, Part I, pp. 239-243

77. Wright, *op.cit.*, p. 75; for many years, now, Saint Simons has been spelled without the apostrophe.

78. Ettinger, op. cit., p. 144

79. Ibid., p. 145

80. Ibid., p. 146

81. John Hedges Goff, "Sterling Creek," in Francis Lee Utley and Marion K. Hemperley, eds., Placenames of Georgia: Essays of John H. Goff (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1875), p. 315; the bluff is known today as Sterling (sic) Hill in Bryan County. Sterling Creek, like Sterling Hill, enters the Ogeechee River on its west side. The brothers took up their grants at the river's confluence with the creek.

82. Andrew Grant, Patrick Tailfer, Hugh Stirling, and Patrick Houston, Savannah, to the Trustees, March 15, 1735 in CO 5/636, p. 228

83. Patrick Tailfer, Savannah, to the Trustees, March 15, 1735 in CO 5/636, p. 330

84. The Echo, Number CCLXXVII, April 10, 1734, p. 2

85. Mercury, Number 2222, July 2, 1743, p. 15997

86. Ibid., p. 15997

87. CO 5/689, p. 150

88. The Egmont List, p. 64

89. Ibid., p. 95

90. CO 5/689, p. 128; presumably a misspelling of Macgillivray

91. Ibid., p. 128

92. Johnston, op. cit., pp. 44, 45

93. The Darien Papers, p. 6

94. CO 5/670, p. 133; The Egmont List, p. 72; Coulter, A Short History, p. 55; the grant to George Dunbar, gentleman of Inverness County, specified that if he died with male issue, his grant was to go to his brother William Dunbar and William's heirs male. This is an obvious circumvention of the tail male condition.

95. CO 5/689, p. 133

96. Benjamyn Martyn, London, to Thomas Causton, October 28, 1734, in CO 5/666, p. 38

97. Ettinger, op. cit., p. 146; Johnston, op. cit., pp. 44, 45. That she was a passenger on this journey is largely a matter of speculation; however, it seems likely that she would come with her brother, and since the Trustees were considering his land grant which with Oglethorpe's endorsement must have seemed a cer-

tainty, it seems likely he would have brought her as soon as feasible. She was probably barely 23 years old when she left Britain. A Priscilla Dunbar, daughter of James Dunbar of Dalcross and his wife, Janet Dunbar, was baptized in the parish kirk at Inverness October 31, 1711.

98. Leo Francis Stock, ed., Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America, Vol. IV: 1728-1739 (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1937), p. 243

99. Ettinger, op. cit., p. 147; Gentlemen's Magazine, I, (January 1731), p. 27

100. Stock, op. cit., p. 243

101. Ibid., p. 244n

102. Ibid., p. 244n

103. Ibid., p. 244n

104. Mercury, Number 2374, June 23, 1735, p. 16605

105. Ibid., Number 2232, March 17, 1735, p. 16437

106. Samuel Everleigh, Savannah, to Oglethorpe, May 28, 1735, in CO 5/635, p. 69

107. Ibid., p. 69

108. Mercury, Number 2377, June 30, 1735, p. 16619

109. The Echo, Number CCLV, October 31, 1733, p. 3; Church, op. cit., p. 144

110. Mercury, Number 2401, August 25, 1735, p. 16716

111. CO 5/670, p. 121

112. CO 5/689, p. 190

113. CO 5/670, pp. 119, 120

114. Ibid., p. 121

115. Ibid., p. 121

116. CO 5/689, p. 192

117. Harmon Verelst, London, to Lieutenant Hugh Mackay, July 12, 1735 in CO 5/666, p. 64

118. Verelst, London, to Mackay, July 19, 1735 in CO 5/666, p. 66

119. Ibid., p. 66

(There is no page 19.)



120. Mackay, Dornoch, to "Sir," presumably Oglethorpe, July 24, 1735, in CO 5/638, pp. 20, 21
121. Mackay, Kirtomie, to "Sir," presumably Oglethorpe, September 1, 1735, in CO 5/638, pp. 20, 21
122. Mercury, Number 2398, August 18, 1735, p. 16073
123. CO 5/670, p. 127; a cartouch box was a cartridge box..Oxford English Dictionary, Vol II: C (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 17 (hereinafter cited as OED):moulus is an apparent variant spelling of mould, OED, Vol. VII: L-M, p. 702
124. Verelst, London, to Thomas Causton, August 22, 1735, in CO 5/666, pp. 70, 71
125. Verelst, London, to John Hossack, August 22, 1735, in CO 5/666, p. 70
126. Verelst, London, to Mackay, August 23, 1735, in CO 5/666, pp. 70, 71
127. Ibid., pp. 70, 71
128. Verelst, London, to Mackay, August 23, 1735, in CO5/666, pp. 71, 72
129. Ibid., pp. 71, 72
130. Ibid., pp. 71, 72
131. Tilbury Fort was located on the Thames opposite Gravesend; the approximate site continues today as Tilbury. Bartholomew's Survey Gazetteer of the British Isles (7th edition Edinburgh: John Bartholomew and son, Ltd., 1927), p. 674
132. CO 5/670, pp. 128, 129
133. Ibid., pp. 128, 129
134. Ibid., pp. 128, 129
135. One of many variant spellings of piragua, a flat-bottomed, two masted sailing boat; also a dugout canoe. William Morris, ed., The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language (Boston: American Heritage Publishing Col, Inc., 1969), p. 998
136. CO 5/670, pp. 128, 129
137. Ibid., pp. 128, 129
138. Verelst, London, to Nicholas Spence, August 23, 1735, in CO 5/666, p. 70
139. Ibid., p. 70



140. Ibid., p. 70
141. The Egmont List, p. 87
142. CO 5/670, p. 150
143. Ibid., p. 133
144. CO 5/670, p. 133
145. The first woman to be granted land directly--and it was granted in tail male was Margaret Bovey, spinster of St. James Middlesex, who, on May 5, 1735, was granted Lot 3, Derby Ward, Tyrconnel Tithing in Savannah, which lot had been forfeited by Thomas Pratt, St. George Hanover Square, Middlesex, April 23, 1735. She was also granted an additional fifty acres outside the town and was required to take one servant with her, CO 5/670, pp. 104, 107 et passim. Margaret emigrated to the colony where she married James Burnside, a writing master, March 12, 1737, and died September 26, 1742, The Egmont List, pp. 7, 65, 66. A second woman shared a grant with a man the same year: Mary Pember, widow of Herbert Pember, late attorney general of Antigua, and her cousin, Edwin Seymour, were granted fifty acres in tail male, August 13, 1735. CO 5/679, pp. 124, 125. She came to Georgia on August 1, 1735, married the widowed Sir Francis Bathurst, July 18, 1736, and died in October 1736. The Egmont List, pp. 40, 63 Nehemiah Curnock, ed., The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M. Vol. I (London: Epworth Press, 1909), p. 247
146. CO 5/670, p. 133
147. Ibid., p. 133
148. Ibid., p. 133
149. Bridgecastle is a hamlet near Bathgate, West Lothian, Bartholomew's Gazetteer, p. 93
150. CO 5/670, p. 169
151. Verelst, London, to George Dunbar, September 6, 1735, in CO 5/666, p. 170
152. Hugh Mackay, Dunrobin Castle, to "Sir," presumably Oglethorpe, September 17, 1735, in CO 5/638, p. 29
153. Hugh Mackay, Inverness, to the Trustees, September 23, 1735 in CO 5/638, p. 40
154. George Dunbar, Inverness, to Oglethorpe, September 20, 1735, in CO 5/638, p. 35
155. Hugh Mackay, Tain, to "Sir," presumably Oglethorpe, September 24, 1735, in CO 5/638, pp. 43, 44
156. Inverness Town Council Records November 1720 to October 1749.

(Manuscript volume In Inverness Town Hall, Inverness), p. 321

157. Hugh Mackay, Inverness, to the Trustees, October 21, 1735, in CO 5/638, p. 46

158. George Dunbar, Inverness, to the Trustees, October 21, 1735, in CO 5/638, pp. 49, 50

159. George Dunbar, Inverness, to the Trustees, October 21, 1735, in CO 5/638, p. 52

160. The passenger list may be found in the Appendix, Part II which begins on p. 244.

161. Robert Louis Stevenson, Kidnapped (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1949), pp. 31, 47 et passim

162. Oglethorpe, Frederica, to Verelst, May 6, 1741, in CO 5/641, pp. 10, 11

## Footnotes, Chapter III

1. Francis Moore, A Voyage to Georgia Begun in the Year 1735 (London: Printed for Jacob Robinson in Ludgate Street, 1744), p. 19; The Egmont List, pp. 37, 56.
2. The South Carolina Gazette, Number 100, December 27, 1735, p.3 (hereinafter cited as SCG)
3. Ibid., p. 3
4. Ibid., p. 3
5. Ibid., p. 3
6. Ibid., p. 3
7. Ibid., p. 3
8. Ibid., p. 3
9. Ibid., p. 3
10. The Egmont List, pp. 13 (entry of Jo. Denune), 98 (entry of Alexr. Sutherland)
11. The Political State of Great Britain, LII (July 1736), p. 36; Moore, op. cit., p. 19; Oglethorpe on board the Symond, Tybee Creek, February 27, 1736, in CO 5/638, p. 137
12. Kenneth Krakow, Georgia Place Names (Macon, Georgia: Omnipress, Inc., 1975), pp. 60,80, 162; Moore, op. cit., p. 19
13. The Political State of Great Britain, LII (July 1736); p. 36; Krakow, op. cit., p. 80
14. The Political State of Great Britain, LII (July 1736), p. 36
15. Moore, op. cit., p. 23
16. Ibid., p. 23
17. Larry E. Ivers, British Drums on the Southern Frontier: The Military Colonization of Georgia, 1733-1749 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1974), p. 33
18. The Egmont List, p. 84
19. Ibid., p. 84
20. W.J.Mackay, "The Mackays in America" in The Weekly Scotsman, Vol. 105 (January 30, 1964), p. 11
21. Angus Mackay, M.A., The Book of Mackay (Edinburgh: Norman MacLeod, 1906), p. 294

22. The Egmont List, p. 84
23. The Case of Mackay of Scourie, etc. (London: no publisher, 1732), p. 2,; Angus Mackay, op. cit., p. 294
24. Rev. Charles D. Bentinck, Dornoch Cathedral and Parish (Inverness: Northern Counties Newspaper Co., 1926), p. 502
25. Angus Mackay, op. cit., p. 294
26. The Case of Mackay, p. 2
27. Ibid., p. 3
28. Ibid., p. 70 (appendix)
29. Ibid., p. 11
30. Ibid., p. 5
31. Ibid., p. 4 (appendix)
32. Angus Mackay, op. cit., p. 294
33. William Stephens, Esq. A Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia, Vol. I (London: Printed for W. Meadows at the Angel in Cornhill, 1742), p. 148; (hereinafter cited as Stephens, Journal); The Egmont List, p. 84; Egmont refers to Patrick's grant at Joseph's Town in the entry for Will. Mackay, who he identifies as Patrick's son. There seems to be no evidence to support this kinship.
34. Stephens, Journal, I, p. 65
35. Ivers, op. cit., p. 38
36. Ibid., p. 38
37. Ibid., p. 38
38. James Burnside, Georgia, to the Trustees, January 16, 1735, in CO 5/636, p. 128
39. Ivers, op. cit., p. 38; The Egmont List, p. 31.
40. Ivers, op. cit., p. 40
41. Davis, op. cit., p. 46; Bernard Diron D'Artaguet--in Broughton's correspondence Dardaguiette--was appointed commissioner-general of Louisiana in 1708.
42. British Public Record Office, Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and the West Indies, Vol. XLII: 1735-36, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1953), p. 104 (hereinafter Col. Cal.)
43. Ibid., p. 104
44. Ibid., p. 104

45. Deposition of William Williams, trader to the Creeks and Chickasaws, July 4, 1735, in Col. Cal. XLII, p. 105; Ivers, op. cit., p. 45

46. Col. Cal. XLII, p. 105

47. Governour Don Francisco del Moral Sanchez, Florida, to Governour Robert Johnson, April 27, 1735, in Col. Cal. XLII, p. 103; Ivers, op. cit., p. 41; the two "captains" were Patrick Mackay and John Barton, an interpreter.

48. Moral Sanchez, Florida, to Johnson, May 13, 1735, in Col. Cal. XLII, p. 104

49. Moral Sanchez, Florida, to the Crown, March 5, 1735, in AGI 87-1-1, Number 15, p. 2

50. Ibid., p. 4

51. Ibid., p. 5

52. Royal decree issued presumably on October 19, 1735 at San Ildefonso in AGI 87-1-1, Number 15, p. 1

53. Ibid., p. 2

54. Unsigned letter from a royal aide, San Ildefonso, to Moral Sanchez, October 19, 1735, in AGI 87-1-1, Number 15, p. 1

55. Deposition of John Cadonhead, trader to the Lower Creeks, July 4, 1735 in Col. Cal. XLII, p. 106

56. Patrick Mackay, Coweta, to Mr. Jones, May 28, 1735, in CO 5/638, p. 16; Thomas Jones was an Indian trader of mixed Indian and white parentage, The Egmont List, p. 80

57. CO 5/638, p. 16; this spelling of Mackay's name in a copy of the original document certified for authenticity by J. Badenhop, clerk of court in South Carolina, illustrates the vast discrepancies found in the orthography of names in eighteenth century sources.

58. Col. Cal. XLII, p. 106

59. Williams' deposition, Col. Cal. XLII, p. 105; Ivers, op. cit., p. 46

60. Williams' deposition, Col. Cal. XLII, p. 105

61. Ibid., p. 105

62. CO 5/689, p. 213

63. Lieutenant Governour Thomas Broughton, South Carolina, to the Council of Trades and Plantations, October (no date), 1735, in Col. Cal. XLII, p. 103



64. Ibid., p. 103
65. Benjamyn Martyn, London, to Broughton, December (no date) 1735, in Col. Cal. XLII, p. 125
66. Ibid., p. 125
67. Ibid., p. 125
68. Samuel Everleigh, Savannah, to James Oglethorpe, May 30, 1735, in CO 5/637, p. 72
69. Wright, op. cit., p. 111
70. George Fenwick Jones and Marie Hahn, eds. and translators, Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants Who Settled in America ... Edited by Samuel Urlsperger, Vol. III: 1736 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1972), p. 40
71. Ibid., p. 39; Moore, op. cit., p. 34
72. Ivers, op. cit., pp. 11, 27 et passim; Moore, op. cit., p. 34
73. Moore, op. cit., p. 35
74. Curnock, op. cit., p. 165
75. Oglethorpe on board the Symond in Tybee Creek, February 27, 1736, in CO 5/638, p. 137
76. Moore, op. cit., p. 43
77. Doboy Island
78. Moore, op. cit., p. 43
79. Ibid., p. 46; CO 5/638, p. 137
80. CO 5/638, p. 137
81. Ibid., p. 137
82. Moore, op. cit., p. 46; Samuel Everleigh at Carolina to Harmon Verelst, March 24, 1736, in CO 5/638, p. 212; SCG, Number 112, March 20, 1736, p. 3
83. Moore, op. cit., p. 46; Wright, op. cit., p. 118
84. Moore, op. cit., p. 46
85. Ibid., p. 46
86. SCG, Number 118, May 1, 1736, p. 2; Oglethorpe, Frederica, to the Trustees, March 16, 1736, in CO 5/638, pp. 185, 186; J. Randolph Anderson, "The Spanish Era in Georgia History" GHQ XX (September 1936), p. 237

87. Moore, op. cit., p. 63
88. Ibid., p. 65; SCG, Number 118, May 1, 1736, p. 2; Oglethorpe, Frederica, to the Duke of Newcastle, April 17, 1736 in Mills Lane, ed., General Oglethorpe's Georgia, Colonial Letters 1733-1743 (Savannah: The Beehive Press, 1975), p. 264
89. Lane, op. cit., p. 264
90. Ibid., p. 264
91. Ibid., p. 264
92. Moore, op. cit., p. 71
93. Ibid., p. 83
94. Ibid., p. 83
95. Ibid., p. 83
96. Oglethorpe, Georgia, to Moral Sanchez, April 10, 1736; Moral Sanchez, Florida, to Oglethorpe, March 30, 1736, in Col. Cal. XLII, pp. 236, 237
97. Ivers, op. cit., p. 75; Krakow, op. cit., p. 11
98. Ivers, op. cit., p. 61; Moore, op. cit., p. 79
99. Oglethorpe, Savannah, to the Trustees, June (no date) 1736, in Lane, op. cit., p. 269
100. Moore, op. cit., p. 92; the only clue to Frazer's identity is to be found in Charles Wesley, The Journal of the Reverend Charles Wesley, H.A.--The Early Journal 1736-1739, Introduction by John Telford (London: The Finsbury Library, 1909), p. 47, which gives only the initial "W." in connection with the name. The Egmont List shows one "W.Frazer"--Will.Frazer, who was an indentured servant of Arthur Johnson's and who arrived on May 7, 1734. There is no clue as to whether he was a lad or an older man, The Egmont List, P. 74
101. Ivers, op. cit., p. 62; Moore, op. cit., p. 92
102. Lane, op. cit., p. 269
103. Ibid., p. 269
104. Ibid., p. 270
105. Ibid., p. 270
106. Ibid., p. 270
107. Ibid., p. 271

108. Ibid., p. 270

109. Ibid., p. 271; Don Manuel is presumably Don Manuel Montiano, a high ranking officer in the Spanish invasion of Georgia in 1742.

110. Ibid., p. 272

111. Ibid., p. 272

112. Ibid., p. 273

113. TePaske, op. cit., pp. 134, 135

114. Ibid., p. 136

115. K.G. Davies, ed. Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, Vol. XLIII (1737) (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1963), p. 33

116. Memorandum from Oglethorpe, n.p., to \_\_\_\_\_, August 18, 1737, in Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 232

117. Ibid., p. 33

118. Ibid., p. 33

119. Oglethorpe, Georgia, to the Governour of Havana, August 30, 1736 in William Griffen, compiler with Albert Manucy, A Calendar of Spanish Records Pertaining to Florida 1512-1764 (Microfilm, St. Augustine: St. Augustine Historical Society, 1959, no pagination. (hereinafter cited as Spanish Calendar) Note: Although the items carry no pagination or other such identification, they have been microfilmed in strict chronological sequence.

120. Antonio de Arredondo, aboard a ship en route to Saint Simons Island, to Oglethorpe, September 8, 1736, in Spanish Calendar, n.p.

121. TePaske, op. cit., p. 136

122. CO 5/670, p. 165

123. Ibid., p. 165

124. Ibid., p. 166; Thomas Boyd of Pitcon and James Blair, a writer in Ayr, each invested £100 in the Darien scheme, The Darien Papers, p. 6

125. Moore, op. cit., p. 129

126. Elizabeth Fallowfield, Savannah, July 19, 1741, to Daniel Graham, Esq., signs her letter "your ever affectionate cousin;" in GD 22/3/314-1, Cunninghame-Graham papers, Section 3 (Manuscript, Register House, Edinburgh)

127. John Fallowfield, Savannah, to the Trustees, February 10, 1737, in Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 38

128. Mercury, Number 2533, June 28, 1736, p. 17246
129. Ibid., Number 2534, June 29, 1736, p. 17521
130. Ibid., Number 2494, March 29, 1736, p. 17087
131. Ibid., Number 2562, September 2, 1736, p. 17368
132. Charles Wesley, op. cit., p. 40
133. Curnock, op. cit., p. 245
134. SCG, Number 120, May 5, 1736, p. 2; Egmont gives the date of death as August 10, 1736, The Egmont List, p. 64
135. Curnock, op. cit., p. 247; The Egmont List, pp. 40, 63; Sir Francis had been led to believe that the Widow Pember had considerable wealth, but, in fact, she was very much in debt; Sir Francis' family had to pay then on her demise, Robert Bathurst, Charleston, to Lord Bathurst, November 12, 1737, in Lane, op. cit., I, p. 317
136. The Egmont List, p. 64
137. Ibid., p. 40
138. Ibid., p. 63
139. Ibid., p. 64; CO 5/640, pp. 395, 396
140. The Egmont List, p. 64
141. Ibid., pp. 41, 64, 92
142. Curnock, op. cit., p. 296
143. The Egmont List, pp. 22, 48, 91
144. Curnock, op. cit., p. 347n
145. Ibid., p. 310
146. Ibid., p. 310
147. Oglethorpe, Savannah, to the Trustees, June (no date) 1736, in Lane, op. cit., I, p. 275
148. Ibid., p. 275
149. Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 28
150. Archibald Macbean, n.p., to Oglethorpe, January 8, 1737, in Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 5
151. Daniel McLachlan, London, to the Trustees, February 26, 1737, in Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 113

152. Daniel McLachlan, London, to the Trustees, February 26, 1737, in CO 5/639, p. 162

152. John Hossack, Inverness, to Harmon Verelst, March 25, 1737, in CO 5/639, p. 162

153. John Hossack, Inverness, to Harmon Verelst, March 25, 1737, in Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 93

154. Macbean, Inverness, to Verelst, March 26, 1737, in Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 93

155. Ibid., p. 93

156. Col. Cal. XLIII, pp. 97, 144

157. Lachlan M'lachlan and Donald Cameron (n.p.) to the Trustees, March 30, 1737, in Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 98

158. Ibid., p. 98

159. Ibid., p. 117

160. Daniel McLachlan, London, to Oglethorpe, April 6, 1737, in Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 103

161. Ibid., p. 103

162. Ibid., p. 103

163. Ibid., p. 113

164. Ibid., p. 113

165. Ibid., p. 113

166. Verelst, London, to Thomas Causton, April 19, 1737, in Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 226

167. The Egmont List, p. 63

168. Hugh Anderson, Savannah, to the Earl of Egmont, August 10, 1737, in Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 217

169. The Egmont List, p. 62

170. Ibid., p. 62

171. Ibid., p. 62

172. Ibid., p. 62

173. Ibid., p. 78; CO 5/670, p. 331

174. Verelst, London, to Messrs. John Hossack & Co., April 23, 1737, in Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 122



175. Ibid., p. 122
176. Ibid., p. 144
177. Archibald Macbean, Inverness, to Verelst, May 21, 1737, in Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 144
178. Verelst, London, to Thomas Causton, May 27, 1737, in Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 173
179. Ibid., p. 173
180. Ibid., p. 173
181. Ibid., p. 173
182. Ibid., p. 173
183. Ibid., p. 173
184. Verelst, London, to Messrs. John Hossack & Co., in Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 173
185. Ibid., p. 173
186. Archibald Macbean, Inverness, to Verelst, May 28, 1737, in Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 173
187. John Hossack, Inverness, to Verelst, June 10, 1737, in Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 177
188. Captain William Thompson, Inverness, to Verelst, June 25, 1737, in Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 188
189. Ibid., p. 188
190. Archibald Macbean, Inverness, to Verelst, July 9, 1737, in Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 195
191. Hossack, Inverness, to Verelst, July 9, 1737, in Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 195
192. The Egmont List, pp. 8 (entry of Jannet Cameron), 55 (entry of Barbara Ward)
193. Samuel Everleigh, South Carolina, to Verelst, December 2, 1737, in Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 291
194. Thomas Causton, Savannah, to the Trustees, January 14, 1737, in Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 8
195. Stephens, Journal, II, pp. 193, 303; The Egmont List, p. 70; Egmont is in error; Stephens records that he died a bachelor being cared for by his sister who was his housekeeper.
196. The Egmont List, pp. 61, 74, 75; they were John Amory, Isaac

197. Ibid., pp. 62, 74; John and Sarah Amory had two sons, John and Will.; Isaac and Mary Gibbes had three sons, Isaac, Philip, and \_\_\_\_\_.
198. For a roster of the passengers see the Appendix, Part III beginning on p. 255
199. The Egmont List, p. 76
200. Verelst, London, to Causton, August 11, 1737, in Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 226
201. Ibid., p. 226
202. Lieutenant Governour Thomas Broughton, Charleston, to the Duke of Newcastle, February 6, 1737, in Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 26
203. Mr. Thorpe, Charleston, to his brother-in-law, February 9, 1737, Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 29
204. Governor Richard Fitzwilliam, New Providence, to the Duke of Newcastle, February 18, 1737, in Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 29
205. Thomas Causton, Savannah to the Trustees, March 8 1737, in Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 69
206. Verelst, London, to Causton, March 23, 1737, in Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 86
207. Ibid., p. 86
208. Ibid., p. 86
209. Ibid., p. 86
210. William Horton, Frederica, to Causton, May 7, 1737, in Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 138
211. Ibid., p. 138
212. Captain James Gascoigne, aboard the Hawk in the Frederica River, to Benjamyn Martyn, August 10, 1737, in Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 216
213. Memorial of the Trustees for Georgia to the King, August 10, 1737, in Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 217
214. Ibid., p. 217
215. TePaske, op. cit., p. 137
216. Memorandum from James Oglethorpe to the King, August 18, 1737, in Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 231
217. Ibid., p. 231

218. Ibid., p. 231

219. Memorandum from Oglethorpe to the Secretary of State, August 10, 1737, in Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 232

220. Ibid., p. 232

221. Ibid., p. 232

222. Ibid., p. 232

223. Ibid., p. 232

224. Memorial to the Trustees for Georgia to the King, August 10, 1737, Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 217.

225. Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 251

226. Sir. James Balfour Paul, The Scots Peerage, Vol. III (Edinburgh: David Douglass, 1906), p. 349; James Cochran was born at Ochiltree, Ayr, in 1690, the great-grandson of Sir William Cochran ne<sup>e</sup> Blair, First Earl of Dundonald, Lord Cochran of Paisley and Ochiltree.

227. Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 251

228. Ibid., p. 251

229. Ibid., p. 251

230. Thomas Causton, Journal of Thomas Causton, Esq., 1st Bailiff of Savannah from 25 May 1737 to 24 July Following in Our First Visit in America; Early Reports from the Colony of Georgia with Introduction by Trevor R. Reese (Savannah: The Beehive Press, 1974), p. 245

231. Ibid., p. 245

232. Ibid., p. 245

233. Ibid., p. 247

234. Ibid., p. 247

235. Ibid., p. 247

236. Ibid., p. 247

237. Ibid., p. 247

238. Ibid., p. 247

239. Jenkins, a hosier from Shepton Mallet, Somerset, kept the public house where the Malcontents regularly met. On May 17, 1733, he received a grant of 100 acres and left England with his wife, children and one servant, Will. Jenkins, eight days later. Lane;

op. cit., II, p. 671; The Egmont List, p. 80; CO 5/670, p. 68

240. Causton, op. cit., p. 247

241. The Egmont List, p. 76

242. Causton, op. cit., p. 255

243. Patrick Houstoun, Savannah, to Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, November 12, 1737, in the Clerk of Penicuik Papers, GD 18/5360-4 National Register House of Scotland, Edinburgh

244. Ibid., GD/18/5360-4

245. Ibid., GD/18/5360-4

246. Houstoun presumably means Saint Christopher's, oftentimes Saint Kitt's, in the Leeward Islands

247. Houstoun to Clerk of Penicuik, GD/18/5360-4

248. Coulter, A Short History, p. 267

249. Ibid., p. 60

250. Houstoun to Clerk of Penicuik, GD/18/5360-4

251. Ibid., GD/18/5360-4

252. Ibid., GD/18/5360-4

253. Charles Frazer-Mackintosh of Drummond, Letters of Two Centuries Chiefly Connected with Inverness and the Highlands from 1616 to 1815 (Inverness: A.W.Mackenzie, 1890), p. 386

254. Ibid., p. 386

255. Ibid., p. 386

256. William Stephens, Savannah, to the Trustees, December 20, 1737, in Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 307

## Footnotes, Chapter IV

1. DNB, X, p. 743
2. James Truslow Adams, Dictionary of American History, Vol III (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940), p. 173; this war is sometimes called King George's War.
3. Stephens, Journal, I, p. 11
4. Ibid., p. 11
5. CO 5/670, p. 64; The Egmont List, pp. 95, 102, Robert and John Williams and Cornelius Sandford, all Bristol merchants, were granted 500 acres each on May 11, 1733; a third Williams, James, "a Bristol man of substance who traded before in the West Indies," arrived in 1736 and took up Lot 167 in Savannah.
6. The Egmont List, p. 102; Robert Williams, the younger, was granted Lot 182 in Savannah but did not take it up.
7. Stephens, Journal, I, p. 57
8. Ibid., p. 57
9. Ibid., p. 25
10. Ibid., p. 25
11. George Whitefield, George Whitefield's Journals (London: Banner of Truth Trust, 1960), p. 120; Ettinger, op. cit., p. 199; DNB XI, p. 983
12. Ivers, op. cit., p. 82
13. NCAB, V, p. 384; Whitefield's Journal, p. 120; The Egmont List, pp. 21, 57
14. Whitefield's Journal, p. 135
15. Ibid., p. 135
16. Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 251; SCG, Number 223, May 4, 1738, p.2
17. Whitefield's Journals; p. 130
18. Ibid., p. 142
19. Ibid., p. 142
20. Ibid., p. 145
21. SCG, Number 223, May 4, 1738, p. 2
22. Stephens, Journal, I, pp. 197, 204; Captain Hugh Mackay, Savannah, to the Trustees, May 10, 1738, in Col. Cal. XLIV (1738), p.81;



Causton, Savannah, to the Trustees, May 26, 1738, in Col. Cal. XLIV, p. 113

23. Ivers, op. cit., p. 80

24. Causton, Savannah, to the Trustees, May 26, 1738, in Col. Cal. XLIV, p. 113

25. Captain Hugh Mackay, Savannah, to the Trustees, May 10, 1738, in Col. Cal. XLIV, p. 81

26. Journal of the Earl of Egmont, First President of the Board of Trustees from June 24, 1733 to May 25, 1744 In Allen D. Candler, A.M., LL.D., The Colonial Records of Georgia, Vol. V (New York: AMS Press, 1970), p. 559. The Trustees ordered Graham paid £40.17.6 on November 16, 1741 for his services. (Hereinafter cited as Col. Recs. Ga.)

27. Captain Hugh Mackay, Savannah, to the Trustees, May 10, 1738, in Col. Cal. XLIV, p. 113

28. Stephens, Journal, I, p. 327; Ivers, op. cit., p. 80

29. Ivers, op. cit., p. 82

30. Ibid., p. 82

31. Ibid., p. 82

32. Alexander Heron was the brother of Patrick Heron, M.P. for Kirkcudbrightshire, The Scots Magazine, I (November 1739), p. 625; Patrick Heron of Kenochtie invested £200 and Andrew Herron (sic) of Bergally invested £100 in the Darien venture, The Darien Papers, p. 14

33. Ivers, op. cit., p. 82

34. "Draft of Instructions to Oglethorpe to be general and commander-in-chief of forces in or to be in South Carolina and Georgia," in Col. Cal. XLIV, p. 77.

35. Ibid., p. 77

36. Stephens, Journal, I, pp. 177, 178

37. Ibid., p. 179

38. Oglethorpe's account of the mutiny at Fort Saint Andrew's, in the papers of Thomas Tower, M.P. and Georgia Trustee D/DTW O/87, Essex Record Office, Chelmsford, p. 1 (hereinafter cited as D/DTW O/87)

39. Ibid., p. 1

40. Ibid., p. 3

41. Ibid., p. 6; Thomas Jones, Savannah, to Verelst, November 12, 1738, in Col. Cal. ALIV, p. 240
42. D/DTW O/87, p. 2
43. Ibid., p. 2
44. Ibid., p. 2
45. Ibid., p. 2
46. Ibid., p. 3
47. Captain Lieutenant (sic) Albert Desbrisay of Oglethorpe's regiment, Ivers, op. cit., p. 79
48. D/DTW O/87, p. 3
49. Ibid., p. 3
50. Ibid., p. 3
51. Ibid., p. 3
52. Ibid., p. 3
53. Ibid., p. 4
54. Ibid., p. 4
55. Ibid., pp. 4,5
56. Ibid., pp. 5,6
57. Ibid., p. 6
58. Oglethorpe, Saint Simons, to Newcastle, February 22, 1739, in CO 5/654, p. 190
59. Ibid., p. 190
60. Ibid., p. 190
61. Stephens, Journal, I, p. 250
62. CO 5/654, p. 190
63. Ibid., p. 190
64. Ibid., p. 190
65. Ibid., p. 190
66. Ibid., p. 190
67. Ibid., p. 190

68. Ibid., p. 190
69. Oglethorpe, Saint Simons, to the Duke of Newcastle, February 22, 1739, quoted in Wright, op. cit., p. 211
70. Stephens, Journal, I, p. 438
71. Ibid., p. 438
72. Mercury, Number 2993, June 5, 1739, p. 3; The Scots Magazine, I (May 1739), p. 234
73. The Scots Magazine, I, (November 1739), p. 584; Charles Dalton, George the First's Army, Vol. II (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1912), p. 175n; A List of the Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, Majors, Captains, Lieutenants, and Ensigns of His Majesty's Forces on the British Establishment (London: Published by order of the House of Commons, 1740), p. 53 (hereinafter cited as Colonel's List)
74. Dalton, op. cit., p. 175n
75. The Scots Magazine, I, (November 1739), p. 584
76. Ibid., p. 625
77. Dalton, op. cit. p. 175n
78. DNB XI p. 983
79. Dalton, op. cit., pp 403, 403n; Cook was first commissioned as a lieutenant August 6, 1707
80. Ibid., p. 302n
81. Ibid., p. 301
82. Colonel's List, p. 47
83. Ibid., p. 47
84. CO 5/670, p. 194; although the grant had been approved in October, it was not awarded until this time.
85. Ibid., p. 191; Paul, op. cit., III, p. 349
86. Paul, op. cit., III, p. 349
87. Ibid., p. 349
88. Stephens, Journal, I, p. 207
89. Ibid., p. 207
90. Ibid., p. 207
91. Ibid., p. 207

92. Ibid., p. 210
93. Ibid., p. 210
94. Ibid., p. 210
95. Ibid., p. 213
96. Patrick Grant, Savannah, to the Trustees, August 23, 1738, in Col. Cal. XLIV, p. 205
97. The Egmont List, p. 76; Stephens, Journal, II, p. 404; Stephens' entry identifies the dead man as Peter Grant, freeholder and ex-naval officer. Neither of the two Peter Grants listed by Egmont were either freeholders or naval officers; Patrick Grant was both. He wrote the Trustees in July 1739 that he had recently been appointed a naval officer and searcher for spirits and other contraband. Patrick Grant, Georgia to the Trustees, July 14, 1739, in CO 5/640, p. 345. Grant's duel was of his own aggressions; his opponent~~s~~ was a cadet named Shenton, Stephens, Journal, II, p. 404
98. Stephens, Journal, I, p. 282
99. Ibid., p. 282
100. Thomas Causton, Savannah, to the Trustees, January 14, 1738, in Col. Cal. XLIV, p. 8
101. Ibid., p. 8
102. Ibid., p. 8
103. Ibid., p. 8
104. Ibid., p. 8
105. Ibid., p. 8
106. Col. Recs. Ga., V, p. 42
107. William Stephens, Savannah, to Verelst, February 27, 1738, in Col. Cal. XLIV, p. 43
108. Col. Recs. Ga., V, p. 43; Verelst, London, to Oglethorpe, August 11, 1738, in Col. Cal. XLIV, p. 189
109. Col. Recs. Ga., V, p. 43; Col. Cal. XLIV, p. 189
110. Col. Cal. XLIV, p. 189
111. Ibid., p. 42
112. Ibid., p. 42
113. Col. Cal. XLIV, p. 154

114. John Mackintosh Moore (sic), Saint Simons Port, to Verelst, Decemer 21, 1738, in Col. Cal. XLIV, p. 272. This spelling of "Moore" seems to be Mackintosh's own usage; from time to time, one sees this descriptive term, usually in secondary sources as Mohr nad Mor, both preceding and following the surname, viz. John Mohr Mackintosh or John MacKintosh Mor.
115. Ibid., p. 272
116. Ibid., p. 272
117. Ibid., p. 272
118. Ibid., p. 272
119. Ibid., p. 272
120. Ibid., p. 272
121. Stephens, Journal, I, p. 233
122. Lilla Mills Hawes, ed. Lachlan McIntosh Papers in the University of Georgia Libraries (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1968), p. 2
123. Thomas Hawkins, Frederica, to Verelst, January 10, 1738, in Col. Cal. XLIV, p. 3
124. Thomas Hawkins, Frederica, to Oglethorpe, May 6, 1738, in Col. Cal. XLIV, p. 77
125. Oglethorpe, Georgia, to Verelst, December 21, 1738, in Col. Cal. XLIV, p. 273
126. Ibid., p. 273
127. Ibid., p. 273
128. Ibid., p. 273
129. Ibid., p. 273
130. Ibid., p. 273
131. Ibid., p. 273
132. Col. Cal. XLIV, p. 154
133. Ibid., p. 154
134. Col. Recs. Ga., V, p. 38
135. William Stephens, Savannah, to the Trustees, January 19, 1738, in Col. Cal. XLIV, p. 15
136. George Dunbar, Savannah, to Harmon Verelst, June 25, 1738, in



Col. Cal. XLIV, p. 153

137. Ibid., p. 153

138. Ibid., p. 153

139. Ibid., p. 153

140. Ibid., p. 153

141. Stephens, Journal, I, p. 98

142. Ibid., p. 105

143. Ibid., p. 105

144. Ibid., p. 105

145. Ibid., p. 105

146. Ibid., p. 148

147. Ibid., p. 148

148. Ibid., p. 159

149. Ibid., p. 226

150. Ibid., p. 226

151. Ibid., p. 230

152. Ibid., p. 230

153. Ibid., pp. 179, 466

154. Ibid., p. 59

155. Stephens, Savannah, to the Trustees, January 19, 1738, in Col. Cal. XLIV, p. 15

156. Ibid., p. 15

157. Ibid., p. 15

158. Lot 55 in Savannah, The Egmont List, p. 84

159. William Stephens, Savannah, to the Trustees, January 19, 1738, in Col. Cal. XLIV, p. 15

160. Ibid., p. 15

161. Ibid., p. 15

162. Ibid., p. 15

163. Stephens, Journal, I, p. 152
164. Ibid., p. 152
165. Ibid., p. 339
166. Ibid., p. 339
167. Ibid., p. 348
168. Ibid., p. 348
169. Ibid., p. 349
170. Ibid., p. 349
171. Ibid., p. 351
172. Ibid., p. 351
173. Pat(rick) Tailfer, M.D.; Hugh Anderson, M.A.: Da(vid) Douglas, and others, A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia in America in The Clamorous Malcontents: Criticisms and Defenses of the Colony of Georgia with introduction by Trevor R. Reese (Savannah: The Beehive Press, 1973), p. 78
174. Ibid., p. 75
175. Ibid., p. 75
176. Ibid., p. 77
177. Ibid., p. 78
178. Ibid., pp. 78, 79, 80
179. Deposition of John M'leod (sic) sworn in South Carolina, November 12, 1741, in Thomas Stephens, The Hard Case of the Distressed People of Georgia in The Clamorous Malcontents, p. 299
180. Ibid., p. 300
181. Ibid., p. 300
182. Ibid., p. 300; an obvious reference to George Dunbar
183. Deposition of Alexander Monroe taken in South Carolina on November 29, 1741, in Stephens, The Hard Case in The Clamorous Malcontents, p. 303.
184. Ibid. p.303
185. Ibid., p. 303
186. Ibid., p. 303

187. Ibid., p. 303; the eighteen signed their names, thus: John Mackintosh Moore, John Mackintosh, Lynvilge; Ranald M'Donald, H M Hugh Morrison's Mark, John McDonald, John Maclean, John Mackintosh son to L., John M'Intosh Bain, James M'Kay, Donald Clark First, Alexander Clarke (sic), Son to the Above; Donald Clark Third, His Mark†; Jos. G I Burges his mark; Donald Clark second; Archibald A M B M'Bain his Mark; Alexander Munro, William Munro, John Cuthbert, in Appendix IX (Benjamyn Martyn), An Account Shewing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America From Its First Establishment in The Clamorous Malcontents, p. 250; the petition is dated New Inverness, January 3, 1739

188. The Clamorous Malcontents, p. 250

189. "Part of a Letter from Mr. John MacLeod, Missionary at New Inverness in Georgia to the Secretary of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, dated January 6, 1738/9" in CO 5/640, p. 253

190. Ibid., p. 253. In a letter to Verelst in 1735, the SSPCK president promised to pay Macleod £25 annual salary during his ministry in Georgia as well as £25 to help him with extraordinary expenses on settling there. John Walker, president of the SSPCK, Edinburgh, to Verelst, October 2, 1735, in CO 5/638, p. 56

191. CO 5/640, p. 253

192. Ibid., p. 253

193. Ibid., p. 253

194. Ibid., p. 253

195. Ibid., p. 253

196. Ibid., p. 253

197. Ibid., p. 253

198. Hugh Anderson, Savannah, to the Earl of Egmont, March 3, 1739, in CO 5/640, p. 287

199. Ibid., p. 287

200. Ibid., p. 287

201. Ibid., p. 287

202. Ibid., p. 287

203. Ibid., p. 287

204. Mercury, Number 3001, June 25, 1739, p. 2

205. SCG, Number 276, May 19, 1738, p. 3

206. SCG, Number 286, July 23, 1739, p. 3
207. Ibid., p. 3
208. SCG, Number 267, March 17, 1739, p. 4
209. SCG, Number 274, May 3, 1739, p. 4
210. Mercury, Number 3003, June 28, 1739, p. 2
211. Ibid., p. 2. Brown musket was an earlier name for the "Brown Bess," a familiar British Army name for the flintlock. OED, Vol. I, A-B, p. 1136
212. Stephens, Journal, II, p. 32
213. Ibid., p. 52
214. Ibid., p. 67
215. A Ranger's Report of Travels with General Oglethorpe 1739-1742 in Newton D. Mereness, ed., Travels in the American Colonies (New York: Antiquarian Press, Ltd., 1961), p. 219 (hereinafter cited as Ranger's Report)
216. "Charges of Oglethorpe's Trip to Coweta Town and Return July 23, 1739-September 25, 1739," in CO 5/670, pp. 239, 240
217. Ibid., p. 239
218. Ibid., p. 240. Stroud was a blanket manufactured for barter or sale with North American Indians.. OED, Vol. X, Sole-Sz, p. 1165
219. Ranger's Report, p. 219
220. Ibid., p. 219
221. Ibid., p. 219
222. Ibid., p. 219
223. Ibid., p. 219
224. Ibid., p. 219: These mounds are preserved as a national monument under the care and protection of the United States government; they are located in Bibb County, Georgia, Georgia Historical Markers, p. 29
225. Captain Thomas Wiggins, Ivers, op. cit., p. 141; "Gudell" is presumably Thomas Goodale, an Indian trader, Gumming's Narrative, p. 21; The Egmont List, p. 76
226. Ranger's Report, p. 219
227. Ibid., p. 220

228. Pumpkins, edible fruit, Curcubita pepo, AHD, p. 1059
229. Ranger's Report, p. 220
230. Ibid., p. 220
231. Ibid., p. 220. The ranger uses a colloquial variant of Cassia senna, a medicinal plant used by Indians. F.N.Howes, A Dictionary of Useful and Everyday Plants and Their Common Names (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 233; Nelson Coon, Using Plants for Healing (Great Neck, New York: Hearthside Press, 1973), p. 96
232. Ranger's Report, p. 220
233. Ibid., p. 221
234. Ibid., p. 220
235. Ibid., p. 220
236. Proceedings of the Assembled Estates of the Lower Creek Nation, August 21, 1739, in Egmont Papers, 14204, p. 87
237. Ranger's Report, p. 221; the ranger does not say when they arrived, but he does say the party left August 12. Depending on the time of the departure which may have been quite late to avoid the extreme daytime heat common in August, and the pace of the party, it could have arrived at Cusseta on either day.
238. Ibid., p. 221
239. Kenneth Coleman, Colonial Georgia (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976), p. 83, quoted.
240. The ten signed their names: Lieut. Geo. Dunbar; Adjutant H. Mackay, Eneas Mackintosh Esq. Brother to the Laird of Mackintosh, John Cuthbert of Drackies, Mr. Robert M'pherson, Bro. to Thos. M'pherson Esq. of Dobradie. Mr. Jno. M:intosh son of Jno. M'intosh of Holmes, Mr. James M'queen son of Jas M'queen of Corribrough; Mr. Kenneth Baillie son of John Baillie of Ballrobert; Mr. John McIntosh, Mr. George Cuthbert.
241. Ranger's Report, pp. 222, 222n
242. Gentlemen's Magazine, X, (March 1740), p. 600; "An Account of the Negroe Insurrection in South Carolina," n.p., n.d. in CO 5/640 pp. 395, 396
243. Ranger's Report, p. 223
244. Ibid., p. 224; Oglethorpe, Frederica, to the Trustees, November 16, 1739, in CO 5/640, p. 415; Oglethorpe describes them as unarmed and sick.
245. Hugh Mackay, A Letter from Hugh Mackay of General Oglethorpe's Regiment to John Mackay, Esq., in the Shire of Sutherland in Scotland (London: no publisher, 1742), p. 13



246. Stephens, Journal, II, p. 148; Thomas Eyre, Frederica, to his brother, December 23, 1739, in Lane, op. cit., II, p. 423
247. Dunbar, Charleston, to Verelst, October 4, 1739, in CO 5/640, p. 380
248. Ibid., p. 380
249. Stephens, Journal, II, p. 198
250. Ibid., p. 196
251. Mercury, Number 3055, October 29, 1739, p. 2; George II declared war on Spain October 19, 1739 at Kensington.
252. Stephens, Journal, II, p. 148
253. Ibid., p. 148
254. Ibid., p. 148
255. Oglethorpe, Savannah, to the Trustees, October 20, 1739, in CO 5/640, pp. 405, 406
256. Stephens, Journal, II, p. 183
257. Ibid., p. 205
258. Ibid., p. 205
259. Ibid., p. 210
260. Ibid., p. 210
261. Ibid., p. 210
262. Ibid., p. 210
263. Oglethorpe, Savannah, to the Trustees, October 20, 1739, in CO 5/640, pp. 405, 406
264. Ibid., pp. 405
265. Stephens, Journal, II, p. 193
266. Richard Scroggs, Ivers, op. cit., p. 88
267. Stephens, Journal, II, p. 193
268. Ibid., p. 193
269. Ibid., p. 193
270. Ibid., p. 194
271. Ibid., p. 194

272. Ibid., p. 195

273. Ranger's Report, p. 224

274. Oglethorpe, Frederica, to the Trustees, February 1, 1740,  
CO 5/640, p. 449

275. Ibid., p. 449

276. Ibid., p. 449; Ranger's Report, p. 225

## Footnotes, Chapter V

1. Oglethorpe, Frederica, to the Trustees, February 1, 1740, in CO 5/640, p. 449
2. Ranger's Report, p. 225
3. Ibid., p. 226; CO 5/640, p. 449
4. Ranger's Report, p. 226; CO 5/640, p. 449
5. Ranger's Report, p. 226
6. Ibid., p. 226
7. CO 5/640, p. 449
8. Ranger's Report, p. 226; CO 5/640, p. 449
9. Ivers, op. cit., pp. 92, 93
10. Don Manuel de Montiano, Saint Augustine, to Don Juan Francisco de Guemes y Horcasitas, January 31, 1740, in C. DeWitt Willcox, ed., Letters of Montiano, The Seige of St. Augustine, Collections of the Georgia Historical Society, Vol. VII, Part I, (Savannah: Savannah Morning News, 1909), p. 36 (hereinafter cited as The Montiano Letters). Montiano was governor at Saint Augustine; Guemes was governor at Havana and therefore, Montiano's superior, Ivers, op. cit., p. 151
11. Ranger's Report, p. 227
12. Stephens, Journal, II, p. 280
13. Ibid., p. 294
14. Ivers, op. cit., p. 140
15. Francis J. Grant, W.S., Index to Genealogies, Birthbriefs, and Funeral Escutcheons Recorded in the Lyon Office (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1908), p. 36
16. Mercury, Number 3198, September 25, 1740, p. 3
17. Register of Burials in the Chapel Royal or Abbey of Holyrood House 1706-1900 (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1900), p. 12
18. Stephens, Journal, II, p. 303
19. Ibid., p. 321
20. Ibid., p. 337
21. SCG, Number 319, April 4, 1740, p.1
22. Oglethorpe, Charleston, to the Trustees, April 2, 1740, in

CO 5/640, p. 470

23. SCG, Number 319, April 4, 1740, p. 1

24. Stephens, Journal, II, p. 339

25. Ibid., p. 349

26. Ibid., p. 378

27. The St. Augustine Expedition of 1740; A Report to the South Carolina General Assembly with introduction by John Tate Lanning (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1954), p. 18 (hereinafter cited as St. Augustine Report)

28. Ibid., p. 19

29. Ibid., p. 19

30. Ibid., p. 20

31. Ibid., p. 20

32. Ibid., p. 20

33. Ibid., p. 21; Deposition of Colonel Alexander Vander Dussen sworn June 25, 1741, in Berkeley County, South Carolina, in St. Augustine Report, p. 113

34. Ibid., p. 23

35. Ibid., p. 23

36. Ibid., p. 25

37. Montiano, Florida, to Guemes, January 3, 1739, in The Montiano Letters, p. 29

38. Ranger's Report, p. 229

39. St. Augustine Report, p. 25

40. Montiano, Florida, to the King, September 25, 1740, in AGI 58-1-32/84 in "Dispatches of Spanish Officials Bearing on the Free Negro Settlement of Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, Florida," in Journal of Negro History, IX (January 1924), pp. 147, 182 (hereinafter cited as Santa Teresa Dispatches); pueblo translates as town or village, Edgar Allison Peers, Jose V. Barragan, Francesco A. Vinyals and Jorge Mora, Cassell's Spanish Dictionary (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1966), p. 643

41. Don Diego de Quiroga, Saint Augustine, to the King, February 24, 1688, in AGI 54-5-12/44 in Santa Teresa Dispatches, pp. 145, 150.

42. Los Negros fugitivos de los Plantages de Yngleses (The Negro Fugitives from English Plantations) to the King, June 10, 1738,

in AGI 58-1-31/62 in Santa Teresa Dispatches, pp. 146, 175

43. St. Augustine Report, p. 26

44. Ibid., p. 26

45. Hugh Mackay's Letter, p. 21

46. St. Augustine Report, p. 29

47. Hugh Mackay's Letter, p. 24

48. Ibid., p. 24; St. Augustine Report, p. 32; Ivers, op. cit., p. 114

49. Hugh Mackay's Letter, p. 26

50. Ibid., p. 26

51. Deposition of Thomas Jones sworn April 9, 1741 in Berkeley County, South Carolina, in St. Augustine Report, p. 120

52. Hugh Mackay's Letter, p. 26

53. St. Augustine Report, p. 33

54. Ibid., p. 33

55. Hugh Mackay's Letter, p. 29

56. St. Augustine Report, p. 34

57. Captain Hugh Mackay, Negro Fort, to Colonel Vander Dussen, June 13, 1740, in St. Augustine Report, p. 141

58. St. Augustine Report, p. 38

59. Ibid., p. 38

60. Ibid., p. 38

61. Deposition of Captain William Palmer sworn February 19, 1740 in Berkeley County, South Carolina, in St. Augustine Report, p. 124

62. St. Augustine Report, p. 38

63. Ibid., p. 39

64. Ibid., p. 39

65. Ibid., p. 39

66. Ibid., p. 39

67. Montiano, Florida, to Guemes, July 6, 1740, in The Montiano



Letters, p. 57

68. St. Augustine Report, p. 40

69. Ibid., p. 40; Colonel Palmer's dying words were, "Huzza my lads! The day's our own. I have been in many battles and never lost one yet."

70. Ibid., p. 40

71. Ibid., p. 40; Montiano, Florida, to Guemes, July 6, 1740, in The Montiano Letters, p. 57

72. Captain Palmer's Deposition in St. Augustine Report, p. 125

73. The pubic region; "yard" is an obsolete synonym for penis, OED, Vol. XII:V-Z (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 17

74. Captain Palmer's Deposition in St. Augustine Report, p. 125

75. Hugh Mackay's Letter, p. 28

76. Ibid., p. 28

77. Ibid., p. 28

78. Ibid., p. 28

79. Ditch, trench; J.E. Mansion, ed. Mansion's French and English Dictionary (Boston: D.C.Heath and Company, 1965), p. 274

80. Hugh Mackay's Letter, p. 29

81. Ibid., p. 30

82. Ibid., p. 31

83. Ibid., p. 31

84. Ibid., p. 31

85. Ibid., p. 31

86. Ibid., p. 31

87. Ibid., p. 31

88. Ibid., p. 32

89. Ibid., p. 32

90. Ibid., p. 33

91. Ibid., p. 33

92. Ibid., p. 33; Mercury, Number 3365, October 20, 1741, p. 3

93. Hugh Mackay's Letter, p. 33
94. Ibid., p. 34
95. Montiano, Saint Augustine, to Guemes, July 6, 1740, in The Montiano Letters, p. 57
96. Hugh Mackay's Letter, p. 34
97. Ibid., p. 35
98. Ibid., p. 35; Baillie and Macqueen, like Macpherson, were in Mackay's command.
99. Ibid., p. 35
100. John Mackintosh, San Sebastian, to Alexander Mackintosh of Lothbury, June 20, 1741, in CO 5/654, p. 347
101. Ibid., p. 347
102. Ibid., p. 347
103. Ibid., p. 347
104. Ibid., p. 347
105. Ibid., p. 347
106. Ibid., p. 347
107. Mercury, Number 3365, October 20, 1741, p. 3; this is a copy of a letter from Mackintosh to his brother, an Inverness merchant. The three referred to are James Macqueen, Kenneth Baillie, and Ronald Macdonald, The Egmont List, pp. 63, 83; Egmont Papers, 14204, p. 87
108. Mercury, Number 3365, October 20, 1741, p. 3
109. Hugh Mackay's Letter, p. 36
110. Ibid., p. 37
111. Ibid., p. 38
112. St. Augustine Report, p. xxii
113. Ibid., p. xxii; George Cadogan, The Spanish Hireling Detected (London: J. Roberts, 1743), p. 21. This strongly pro-Oglethorpe pamphlet strengthens Lanning's thesis on differences between the two British factions at Fort Moosa. Cadogan wrote that the "British soldiers are not yet tainted with the softness of Carolina."
114. Ibid., p. xvii
115. Ibid., p. xiii

116. Ibid., p. xiii
117. St. Augustine Report, p. 58
118. Ibid., p. 64; Extract of Colonel LeJau's Journal, July 6, 1740 in St. Augustine Report, p. 162. The two remaining men-of-war were both twenty-gun vessels: the Phoenix, Captain Charles Fanshaw, and the Tartar, Captain George Townshend, Ibid., p. 16
119. Ibid., p. 69
120. Montiano, Saint Augustine, to Guemes, July 28, 1740, in The Montiano Letters, p. 63
121. Ibid., p. 63
122. Ibid., p. 63
123. Ibid., p. 63
124. Ibid., p. 63
125. Ibid., p. 63
126. Mercury, Number 3139, May 12, 1740, p. 1
127. Ibid., p. 1
128. Ibid., p. 1
129. Mercury, Number 3196, September 16, 1740, p. 1
130. Mercury, Number 3203, October 2, 1740, p. 2
131. Stephens, Journal, II, p. 421
132. Ibid., p. 458
133. Ibid., p. 491
134. Ibid., p. 499
135. Stephens, Journal, III (October 1740-September 1741), p.22
136. Ibid., p. 22
137. Ibid., p. 26
138. Ibid., p. 26
139. Stephens, Journal, II, p. 500
140. Ibid., p. 500
141. Ibid., p. 500
142. Ibid., p. 504; Ivers, op. cit., p. 138

143. TePaske, op. cit., p. 145
144. SCG, Number 360, January 15, 1741, p. 3
145. Ibid., p. 3
146. Ibid., p. 3
147. SCG, Number 358, January 1, 1741, p. 2
148. Tailfer, Anderson, Douglas and Others, op. cit., in The Clamorous Malcontents, p. 22
149. Ibid., p. 24
150. The Clamorous Malcontents, p. xii
151. Ibid., p. xii
152. Ibid., p. xii
153. Ibid., p. xiii
154. Ibid., p. xiii
155. Ibid., p. xiii
156. (Benjamyn Martyn) An Account Shewing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America in The Clamorous Malcontents, pp. 181-258
157. CO 5/691, p. 66; Trevor Richard Reese, Colonial Georgia: A Study in British Imperial Policy in the Eighteenth Century (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1963), p. 44
158. Ettinger, op. cit., p. 250; Coulter, A Short History, p. 68
159. Col. Recs. Ga., V, p. 504; Grey's name is also recorded as Gray, Col. Recs. Ga., p. 539
160. Ibid., p. 504
161. Ibid., p. 504
162. Ibid., p. 505
163. Ibid., p. 539
164. Ibid., p. 539
165. Ibid., pp. 541, 549
166. Ibid., p. 541
167. Ibid., p. 545

168. Ibid., p. 549
169. Ibid., pp. 549, 551
170. A roster of the Highland party will found in the Appendix, Part IV which begins on p. 260
171. Verelst, London, to William Stephens, September 17, 1741, in CO 5/668, pp. 23, 24
172. The Egmont List, p. 32
173. Ibid., p. 32
174. John Terry, Georgia, to Verelst, December 28, 1741, in CO 5/641, p. 68
175. Ibid., p. 68
176. Verelst, London, to Oglethorpe, September 18, 1741, in CO 5/668, p. 29; Verelst instructed Oglethorpe that Terry would replace Francis Moore as recorder at Frederica.
177. John Terry, Frederica, to Verelst, June 17, 1742, in CO 5/641, p. 159
178. Ibid., p. 159
179. Ibid., p. 159
180. Ibid., p. 159
181. Ibid., p. 159
182. Ibid., p. 159
183. Samuel Eigel (Aigel), The Egmont List, p. 1
184. Sebastian Klocher (sic), The Egmont List, p. 27
185. CO 5/641, p. 159
186. The New England axe was a modification of the French trade axe, having a longer poll and a shorter blade; the French trade axe, a 17th century tool used in colonial America and Canada, had a light poll and a long blade. Adams, Dictionary, I, pp. 143, 144
187. A heavy mallet with a large wooden head, AHD, p. 119
188. Invoice of Parcels shipped by the Trustees on board the Loyal Judith in CO 5/668, p. 27
189. CO 5/691, p. 94
190. CO 5/668, p. 29



191. Col. Recs. Ga., V, p. 406; Verelst, London, to John Hossack & Co., April 29, 1741, in CO 5/668, p. 14
192. Lachlans (sic) Macbane, an Indian trader, was granted a lot of 500 acres and a house at Port Augusta by Oglethorpe on June 14, 1736. It seems reasonable that he would require servants and would, therefore, employ someone to recruit for him, The Edmont List, p. 83
193. Col. Recs. Ga., V., p. 556
194. Ibid., p. 509
195. Ibid., p. 557
196. Ibid., p. 557
197. Ibid., p. 557
198. Ibid., p. 557
199. Ibid., p. 557
200. Ibid., p. 557
201. Ibid., p. 453
202. Ibid., p. 423
203. SCG, Number 383, June 25, 1741, p. 3
204. Ibid., p. 3
205. Ibid., p. 3
206. Ibid., p. 3
207. SCG, Number 407, December 12, 1741, p. 4
208. Ibid., p. 4
209. SCG, Number 381, June 11, 1741, p. 3
210. Stephens, Journal, VIII, p. 218
211. Ibid., p. 224
212. Ibid., p. 241
213. Ibid., p. 106
214. Ibid., p. 108
215. Ibid., p. 244
216. Ibid., p. 100

217. Ibid., p. 111
218. Ibid., p. 181
219. SCG, Number 410, January 2, 1742, p. 3; Petit Versailles had been "lately possessed" by Captain George Townshend, who commanded the Tartar during the seige of Saint Augustine.
220. Stephens, Journal, III, p. 298
221. Ibid., p. 298
222. Ibid., p. 298
223. Ibid., p. 298; Donald Stewart, sloop master, drowned April 1740 when his craft hit shoals near Port Royal, Stephens, Journal, II, p. 350
224. Col. Recs. Ga., V, p. 159
225. Ibid., p. 159
226. Ibid., p. 498
227. Ibid., p. 499
228. Ibid., p. 499
229. Ibid., p. 503
230. Ibid., p. 343
231. Mark Carr, later given a commission as captain and made commander of the Marine Company of Boatmen, <sup>W<sup>as</sup></sup> Scot, Ivers, op. cit., p. 145
232. Stephens, Journal, III, p. 161
233. Ibid., p. 135
234. Ranger's Report, p. 231; E. Merton Coulter, ed., The Journal of William Stephens 1741-1743 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1958), p. 21 (hereinafter Stephens, Journal, IV)
235. Ranger's Report, p. 231; Stephens, Journal, IV, p. 28
236. Ivers, op. cit., pp. 102, 149
237. Ibid., p. 148
238. Ibid., p. 149
239. Ibid., p. 149
240. TePaske, op. cit., p. 146

241. Ibid., p. 146

242. Ibid., p. 146

243. Ibid., p. 147

244. Ibid., p. 147

245. A falconet was a light piece of ordinance used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; it was made in several calibres, OED, Vol. IV: F-G (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 35

246. TePaske, op. cit., p. 148

247. Don Antonio de Arredondo, Journal Kept by Don Antonio de Arredondo, Chief Engineer of the Present Expedition, an enclosure in Letter of the Governour General of Cuba to the King's Minister, announcing the Failure of the Expedition against Georgia and Enclosing Two Journals of Events in C. DeWitt Willcox, ed., The Spanish Official Account of the Attack on the Colony of Georgia in America and of its Defeat on St. Simons Island by General James Oglethorpe (Savannah: The Georgia Historical Society, 1913), p. 52. Note: The Spanish records used the Old Style, Julian, dating; this has been changed to Gregorian, which was in British usage. (These three sources will hereinafter be cited, individually, as Arredondo's Journal, Governour-General's Letter, and Spanish Official Account.)

248. Arredondo's Journal, p. 52

249. Ibid., p. 53

250. Approximately seventy miles southward along the Florida east coast from Saint Augustine.

251. Mercury, Number 3148, August 10, 1742, p. 1; Margaret Davis Cate, "Port Frederica-The Battle of Bloody Marsh" in GHQ, XXVII (June 1943), p. 134

252. Arredondo's Journal, p. 57

253. Ibid., p. 57; Mercury, Number 3148, August 10, 1742, p. 1; "An Account of the late invasion of Georgia, drawn out by Lieut. Patrick Sutherland, of Gen. Oglethorpe's regiment, lately arrived in England" in The Scots Magazine, IV (December 1742), p. 579; (hereinafter cited as Sutherland's Account)

254. Arredondo's Journal, p. 57

255. Ibid., p. 55

256. Cate, op. cit., p. 134

257. Sutherland's Account, p. 579; Cate, op. cit., p. 136

258. Sutherland's Account, p. 579; Cate, op. cit., p. 136

259. Cate, op. cit., p. 136
260. Ibid., p. 137
261. Sutherland's Account, p. 579
262. Ranger's Report, p. 236
263. Probably George Sterling of the Forty-Second Regiment, although William, the former colonist, became a military officer in South Carolina after leaving Georgia, Ivers, op. cit., pp. 208, 209; Col. Recs. Ga., V, p. 705
264. Ranger's Report, p. 236
265. Lieutenant William Tolson of Captain Dunbar's company, Ivers, op. cit., p. 134
266. Sutherland's Account, p. 579
267. Ibid., p. 579
268. Ibid., p. 579; Ranger's Report, p. 536
269. Sutherland's Account, p. 579
270. Guemes, Havana, to Montiano, June 2, 1742, in Spanish Official Account, p. 33
271. Ibid., p. 33
272. Ibid., p. 33
273. Ibid., p. 33
274. Ibid., p. 34
275. Oglethorpe, Frederica, to Sir Robert Walpole, December 7, 1741, in Lane, op. cit., II, p. 603; Oglethorpe had, four years earlier, given the slave population as 30,000 valued at £600,000 sterling in a memorandum, August 18, 1737, on the colony's defence, Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 232. Both population figures are excessive; in 1749, South Carolina had a black slave population of 39,000. Undoubtedly, the 1741 population would have been smaller because indigo, which supplemented rice in the plantation economy, first took its role in 1742; the need for slaves was relative to the crops. Francis Butler Simkins, A History of the South, 3rd edition
276. Arredondo's Journal, p. 57
277. Ibid., p. 57
278. Marquess of Casinas, Details of What Occurred in the Present Expedition, Entrusted to the Care of Brigadier Don Manuel de Montiano, from the 15th day of June (June 4) on which the Convoy arrived from Havana at St. Augustine, the whole being contained

in a journal kept by the Marquess of Casinas, an enclosure in Governor-General's Letter in Spanish Official Account, p. 66 (hereinafter cited as Casinas' Journal)

279. Ibid., p. 66

280. A small, two masted sailing vessel, AHD, p. 131

281. Casinas' Journal, p. 67

282. Sutherland's Account, p. 579

283. Ibid., p. 579

284. Casinas' Journal, p. 66

285. A small sailing vessel resembling a brig, OED, IX, p. 333

286. Mercury, Number 3435, September 20, 1742, p. 2; Sutherland reports thirty-six sail, Sutherland's Account, p. 579

287. Casinas' Journal, p. 68

288. A sailing vessel with a narrow stern, AHD, p. 995; this craft was commanded by one Parreno, Casinas' Journal, p. 68

289. Casinas' Journal, p. 69

290. A light, swift galley propelled by sails and oars, AHD, p. 539

291. Casinas' Journal, p. 70

292. Ibid., p. 70

293. Ibid., p. 70

294. Ibid., p. 70

295. Ibid., p. 71

296. Ibid., p. 71

297. Ibid., p. 71

298. Ibid., p. 71

299. Ibid., p. 71

300. Ibid., p. 72

301. Ibid., p. 72; the careening ground is Gascoigne Bluff, Cate, op. cit., p. 146

302. Casinas' Journal, p. 72



303. Montiano's Report of the Expedition to the King, St. Augustine, in Florida, August 3, 1742, in Spanish Official Account, p. 91 (hereinafter cited as Montiano's report)

304. Casinas' Journal, p. 73

305. Ibid., p. 73; Georgia swamp bogs generally have a layer of mud and water ranging from about four inches to more than two feet in depth atop a firmer terrain. They are, in a sense, somewhat similar to Shetland peat bogs; however, it is much easier to walk in a peat bog than a swamp.

306. Sutherland's Account, p. 579

307. Ranger's Report, p. 236

308. Ibid., p. 236; Sutherland's Account, p. 579

309. Sutherland's Account, p. 579

310. Ranger's Report, p. 236; the ranger does not say how many men the general captured other than Roman, a grenadier. Sutherland, on the other hand, says that Oglethorpe captured two Spaniards, Sutherland's Account, p. 579

311. Sutherland's Account, p. 579; this appears to be a case of mistaken identity. The reference is apparently to Don Nicholas Hernández, captain of the miquelets (Spanish, miquelete); however, although he was present at this event, he was alive and well two days later by two accounts: Casinas' and Montiano's. The Spanish record no officer killed in this encounter. Note: A miquelet equates to a modern scout. Casinas' Journal, pp. 73n, 76; Montiano's Report, p. 91

312. Sutherland's Account, p. 579

313. Ibid., p. 579

314. Ranger's Report, p. 236; Montiano's Report, p. 91

315. Casinas' Journal, p. 73

316. Ibid., p. 73

317. Sutherland's Account, p. 579

318. Ibid., p. 579

319. Collections of the Georgia Historical Society (Savannah: The Georgia Historical Society, 1840), III, p. 136 quoted in Cate, op. cit., p. 136

320. Sutherland's Account, p. 579

321. Montiano's Report, p. 91; Casinas identifies the slain officer as Don Miguel Bucardi, ensign of the Havana company, Casinas'

Journal, p. 73

322. Montiano's Report, p. 73

323. Casinas' Journal, p. 73

324. Sutherland's Account, p. 579

325. Kanger's Report, p. 236

326. Casinas' Journal, p. 75; Montiano's Report, p. 92

327. Cate, op. cit., p. 150

328. Ibid., p. 152

329. Cate, op. cit., p. 151; Sutherland gives Lieutenant Hugh Mackay's name in an obvious error, Sutherland's Account, p. 579

330. Collections of the Georgia Historical Society, III, p. 136 quoted in Cate, op. cit., p. 136

331. Spartina or White Rush, Stephens Elliott, Classica Botanica Americana Vol. VI: A Sketch of the Botany of South Carolina and Georgia with introduction by Joseph Ewan (New York: Hapner Publishing Company, 1971), p. 94

332. Sutherland's Account, p. 579

333. Ibid., p. 579

334. Ibid., p. 579

335. Casinas' Journal, p. 78

336. Sutherland's Account, p. 579

337. Montiano's Report, p. 94; Casinas' Journal, p. 79

338. Sutherland's Account, p. 579; Casinas' Journal, p. 81

339. Casinas' Journal, p. 81

340. Ibid., p. 87

341. Montiano's Report, p. 95

342. Spanish Official Account, p. 3

343. Ibid., p. 4

344. Ibid., p. 4

345. Ettinger, op. cit., p. 245

346. Ivers, op. cit., p. 173

347. Edward Kimber, A Relation or Journal of A Late Expedition to the Gates of St. Augustine on (sic) Florida with bibliographical notes by Sidney A. Kimber (Boston: Charles E. Goodspeed & Co., 1935), p. 16

348. TePaske, op. cit., p. 155

349. Ettinger, op. cit., pp. 250, 251

350. Ivers, op. cit., pp. 185, 202

351. Ibid., pp. 186, 187, 202

352. Hawke, op. cit., p. 382

353. Ivers, op. cit., p. 213

354. Hawke, op. cit., p. 518

355. CO 5/671, p. 38

## Footnotes, Appendix

1. The Egmont List, p. 94
2. Ibid., p. 102

## Footnotes, Part I

1. Georgia became a royal province in June 1752 when the Trustees relinquished title to it. Subsequently, the first royal governour, John Reynolds, proclaimed on January 1, 1755, that Georgians were released from the grants they held and new grants were to be issued them. The registration period ended June 30, 1755, by which time, more than 1,000 persons or their representatives registered titles giving the name of the claimant and various bits of information relative to the grant itself. One such claimant was John Bailey of Barbados, who, through his agent, Francis Harris, made two claims. One was for a 500 acre parcel on the south branch of the Little Ogeechee River; the other was a wharf above the Upper Landing at Savannah. Both were previously owned by Joseph Phillips. Pat Bryant, Deputy Surveyor General of Georgia, Entry of Claims for Georgia Landholders, 1733-1755 (Atlanta: State Printing Office, 1975), pp. xi, xii, 18
2. Andrew Bell, a freeholder of Savannah and a blacksmith, who had been living for some time at Port Royal, South Carolina, was reported on April 7, 1743, to be unable to work; he was dead at Charleston, April 11, 1743. Col. Recs. Ga. V, pp. 660, 688. Bell's son William, through his agent Charles Watson, claimed Lot 9 in the First Tithing, Lower or Reynolds Ward with the garden and farm lots belonging to it. William's claim stated that he was the only son and heir of Andrew. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 2
3. Apparently the servant who died from Tailfer's beatings.
4. Thomas Frazer registered a fifty acre grant, Lot 5 at Vernonburgh; he was the original grantee. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 133
5. Patrick Houstoun died a baronet in 1762. In his will, he left everything to his wife Priscilla Dunbar and her heirs. His will was proven on April 15, 1762. Will Book "A"--November 25, 1754-July 30, 1772, English Probate (Atlanta: State Archives Microfilm) Houstoun registered a 500 acre grant which was located between the Little Ogeechee and Vernon Rivers and adjacent to James Houstoun's 1733 grant. The grant was Houstoun's 1733 allocation. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 139
6. George Johnson, through his agent Charles Watson, registered a fifty acre grant, Lot 3 Second Tithing, Upper New Ward with the garden and farm lots belonging to it. He was granted the property "about the year 1742." Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 143
7. Robert Redford was granted fifty acres by the Trustees, Lot 4, Fourth Tithing, Lower Ward with a garden and farm lot. When he died, the property passed to his wife, in spite of the ~~tail male~~



tale male situation, for it was through Redford's widow's right to the grant that her husband, John Goldwire claimed it through his agent Charles Watson. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 135

8. Hugh Ross claimed 250 acres in four tracts. The largest was a 100 acre grant from the Trustees' representatives "about 9 months ago." This was at Abercorn as were two fifty acre lots he registered. Lot 2 had been purchased from James Grant; Lot 9 had been inherited from the late James Fraser. The fourth parcel was for a town lot in Savannah with "the 5 acre and 45 acre lots granted to him by General Oglethorpe in 1738." Bryant, Entry of Claims, pp. 105, 106

9. Patrick Tailfer's will was proven in Charleston on December 14, 1745 and recorded there four days later. He left his estate, after the payment of his just debts and funeral expenses, to his wife Mary Tailfer with the exception of £100 South Carolina currency which he left to "Mary Galloways little girl that lives with me." The will was drawn September 6, 1745. Wills of Charleston County, South Carolina, Vol. 5:1740-1747 (Typescript, South Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Columbia), p. 125

10. River Nese, sometimes Ness, survives as Black Creek, Savannah Unit, Writers Project, Works Progress Administration, "Drakies Plantations," GHO, XXIV (June 1940), p. 209

11. Hugh Mosman, W.S., published a notice in June 1743 that a settlement had been reached as to claims made against Joseph Wardrope. George Boswall, accountant, had devised a plan to divide the assets and claimants were advised to call on Boswall, no address given. Mercury, Number 3546, June 13, 1743, p. 4

## Footnotes, Part II

1. Lochain may be a misspelling of Lochans, a residence near Inverness. Directory to Noblemen and Gentlemen's Seats, Villages, Etc. in Scotland (Edinburgh: Sutherland and Knox, 1851), p. 112 (hereinafter cited as Gentlemen's Directory)

2. George McDonald claimed 150 acres "at the head of a creek on the north side of the Sapola River" which had been granted him in 1754. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 150. The Georgia Gazette of July 13, 1786 reported that George McDonald, age 110, had recently died in Liberty County and that he had emigrated with Oglethorpe. Mary Bondurant Warren, Marriages and Deaths 1763-1780 Abstracted from Georgia Newspapers (Danielsville, Ga.: Privately printed, 1968), p. 70

3. This appears to be an abbreviation, and view in the context of the passenger list it would seem to be Tarbet, a coastal parish in Ross and Cromarty. Francis H. Groome, ed., Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland, Vol. VI (Edinburgh: Thomas C. Jack, Grange Publishing Works, 1885), p. 428

4. This may be Laig, a private residence near Airsaig, Inverness-shire. Gentlemen's Directory, p. 106



5. George Mackay claimed 120 acres of land in two parcels. One was for seventy acres northwest of Abercorn which he had been granted originally; the other was for fifty acres adjoining his own grant which was originally granted to his wife Mary Gibbs. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 165

6. John Mackay claimed fifty-five acres in two lots. One of fifty acres, no location given, was granted to him as a disbanded soldier; the other five was a lot in Darien. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 152

7. William Mackay claimed 150 acres in three tracts. Fifty acres had been granted to him as a disbanded soldier. George Douglass deceased was the original grantee of the remainder. He had been given fifty acres as a disbanded soldier, and fifty acres was given to him in a Darien town lot with the land belonging to it. The location of the disbanded soldiers' property does not appear. Bryant, Entry of Claims, pp. 151, 152

8. Hugh Morrison claimed 150 acres at the head of the Sapelo River; he was the original grantee. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 154

9. James Anderson's widow, Elizabeth Anderson, claimed 550 acres in two parcels, both of which had first been granted the deceased James. Fifty acres was claimed in Lot 10, Third Tithing, Lower New Ward with its garden and farm lot; the remaining 500 acre tract was south of the settlement called Thunderbolt. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 1

10. These dates are hereinafter omitted.

11. Kenneth Baillie claimed, through his agent Charles Watson, 1,000 acres for himself and 100 acres for his son Kenneth. Baillie's claim was in two tracts of 500 acres each. One was on Black Island near the head of the Midway River; the other was "near the same (grant) purchased of Probart Howarth. The son's land was in two parcels of fifty acres each. One was given him as a disbanded soldier; the other was a gift from John Hargrove, a disbanded soldier. Bryant, Entry of Claims, pp. 18, 19. The will of Kenneth Baillie of St. John's Parish, planter, was proven September 2, 1766. He divided a rather large estate unevenly between his wife Elizabeth; sons, Kenneth, Alexander, and Robert, and daughters, Jean Baillie Darling and Ann Elizabeth Baillie Irvin. Kenneth as the eldest son got the lion's share totalling more than 500 acres and assorted household and personal items including "kitching furniture," guns and pistols. The two daughters received 250 each. Will Book "A", November 25, 1754-July 30, 1772 (Atlanta: Georgia Department of Archives, Manuscript), p. 185

12. Presumably Dornoch.

13. Donald Clark was granted 650 acres of land in four units. The largest, a 500 acre parcel was given him in 1750 "on a branch of the Buffalo Swamp known by the name of Catthead." The other 150 were three town lots in Darien with the land belonging to each.

14. Angus Clarke claimed 500 acres which had been granted to him in 1750. The land was located on the north side of the Sapelo River. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 156

15. Hugh Clarke claimed 500 acres granted to him originally in 1750 at the head of the Sapelo River. He also claimed a town lot in Darien with fifty acres of land; the original grantee is not shown. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 155

16. William Clarke claimed 500 acres of land which was first granted to him in 1750. It was located on the south side of the Sapelo River and called Cedar Bluff. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 156. A notice of the death of William Clarke, 71, appeared in the Georgia Gazette of February 11, 1796. He had died "lately" in the Bahamas and was "one of the ten recently alive followers (sic) of old Captain John Mackintosh." Mary Bondurant Warren, Marriages and Deaths 1763 to 1780 Abstracted from Georgia Newspapers. (Danielsville, Ga.: Privately Printed, 1968), p. 21

17. George Cuthbert claimed two parcels of land; one was for 500 acres on the north side of the Great Ogeechee River first granted to him August 22, 1752. The other was Lot 35 in Savannah first granted to George Cuthbert June 5, 1754. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 196

18. Drakies was a private residence near Inverness, Gentlemen's Directory, p. 60

19. John Grant claimed fifty acres of land which had been given to him as a disbanded soldier. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 153

20. William Kennedy claimed fifty acres of land about eight miles below Mount Pleasant. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 145

21. Donald Macdonald claimed two parcels of land containing fifty acres each; they were both originally granted Norman Macdonald. One was a town lot in Darien with the land belonging to it; the other was granted to him as a disbanded soldier. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 151

22. Winwood Macdonald disappears from the scene apart from this entry. Another Winwood--Winwood Mackintosh--remained a part of the colony until her death at an advanced, but not disclosed, age August 20, 1785. Due to the uncommonness of the first name and the fact that there is no mention of a Winwood Mackintosh in The Egmont List, although she was a sister of Roderick, one is obliged to wonder if Egmont did not err here. Warren, Marriages and Deaths, p. 71

23. Lachlan McGillivray claimed 500 acres at the head of the branches of the Little Ogeechee River to which he was the original grantee. Lachlan McGillivray, in partnership with Patrick Brown and Daniel Clarke, claimed 500 acres in the township of Augusta, a purchase from Thomas Smith. Bryant, Entry of Claims, pp. 20, 102. Lachlan McGillivray was third president of the Saint Andrew's Club at Savannah in Georgia; his term of office was

1769-1770. The History of the Saint Andrew's Society of the City of Savannah (Savannah: Kennickell, 1950), p. 53

24. The most likely person for this to be is Patrick Mackay of Scourie, but inasmuch as there is extensive correspondence from him and concerning him in colonial Georgia and South Carolina in 1735, it does not seem at all possible.

25. This may be John Mackay, Patrick's brother, and if so, then he appears to have been entered in Egmont's records twice. As the reader may recall from Chapter II, both Patrick and John Mackay received large grants in September 1735, and he may recall that Hugh Mackay in an obvious reference to those grants spoke of Scourie's grant. He also said, "Mr. Mackay of Strathay will see you at London, if you are not sailed before he has got his affairs finished at Edinburgh, he wants to be informed at the fountainhead particularly with regard to the succession." Hugh Mackay, Tain, to "Sir," presumably Oglethorpe, September 24, 1735, in CO 5/638, pp. 43, 44

26. Egmont recorded three children.

27. Donald Mackintosh died at the age of 75 in his home on the Sapelo River in 1801; he was said to have been one of the emigrants on the Prince of Wales. Warren, Marriages and Deaths, p. 70. Donald Mackintosh claimed no property in 1755.

28. George Mackintosh claimed 500 acres "on the head of the Sapola River," which he had been granted in 1753. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 156

29. Egmont does not list a wife and child.

30. John Mackintosh II claimed 600 acres of land in three parcels. One, originally granted to him in 1750, for 500 acres was divided between Black Island and Turkey Camp Swamp. Two lots at Darien with fifty acres of land to each were also claimed. The original grantee is not shown. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 155. John Mackintosh Moore, that is John Mackintosh, Chieftain, was the second son of Lachlan Mackintosh and Mary Lockhart, his wife. He was the grandson of William Mackintosh of Borlum and his wife Mary Baillie of Dunain. John Mackintosh Moore was born at Badenoch near Kingussie on the River Spey on March 24, 1700. He and Marjory Frazer were married at the parish kirk at Dores, Inverness-shire on March 24, 1725. Apart from the five children that Egmont shows, a family Bible is said to record these: Alexander, born September 28, 1720, died; Mary, born October 25, 1730, died; Joseph, born November 1, 1731, died; Lewis and Janet, twins born November 4, 1734, died in Darien; Annie, born at Darien April 18, 1737; \_\_\_\_\_ born May 24, 1739, died 1749. Joseph Gaston Baillie Bulloch, M.D., A History and Genealogy of Baillie of Dunain, Dochfour, and Lamington with a short sketch of the Family of McIntosh and Other Families (Green Bay: The Gazetteer Print, 1898) pp. 85, 86n. He died in 1761. Warren, Marriages and Deaths, p. 72



31. Marjory Frazer, daughter of John Frazer of Garthmore, and his wife Elizabeth Frazer, was born in 1701. Bulloch, A History and Genealogy, p. 85

32. John Mackintosh was born at Badenoch on April 27, 1728. Bulloch, A History and Genealogy, p. 85. He left Georgia in 1752 and died at his home "The Hermitage," Saint Thomas East, Jamaica at the age of 69 (sic) according to an item in the Mercury, December 13, 1796. Warren, Marriages and Deaths, p. 72

33. Lachlan Mackintosh was born at Badenoch, March 5, 1727. Bulloch, A History and Genealogy, p. 85. He served the American rebels and was a ranking officer in the Revolutionary War. In 1777, then a colonel, he fought a duel with Button Gwinnett, then president of the colony, over political differences. Gwinnett died from injuries received and Mackintosh was given an army command outside the state. He died on February 20, 1806; his papers, edited by Lilla Mills Hawes, have been published. Warren, Marriages and Deaths, p. 71; Kenneth Coleman, Georgia History in Outline. (Athens: University of Georgia, 1960), p. 21. General Lachlan McIntosh was the eighth president of the Saint Andrew's Club at Savannah, serving in 1791-1792: Saint Andrew's Society History, p. 53. He claimed 500 acres of land on the north branch of the Newport River which had first been granted to him in 1750. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 156

34. William Mackintosh was born at Borlum on January 27, 1726. Bulloch, A History and Genealogy, p. 85. He died on Saint Simons Island February 7, 1801 at the age of 76 (sic). During the Revolutionary War, he served the American rebels as a colonel in command of a regiment of horse. Warren, Marriages and Deaths, p. 71. William Mackintosh claimed 500 acres of land on the south side of the Newport River which had been granted to him in 1754. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 149

35. Roderick Mackintosh claimed 500 acres on the north branch of the Sapelo River which was first granted to him in 1754. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 149

36. Near Forres in Moray-shire, Gentlemen's Directory, p. 251

37. Donald McLeod, son of John, claimed fifty acres of land "granted as a bounty to all disbanded soldiers of General Oglethorpe's Regiment." The land was originally granted to John McLeod deceased. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 150

38. Egmont is in error; the minister was the Reverend John Macleod, a native of Skye and brother of the Reverend Roderick Macleod, minister at Bracadale, Isle of Skye. He was ordained by the Presbytery of Edinburgh on October 15, 1735 and left Georgia for Edisto Island, South Carolina in 1741. Hew Scott, D.D., Fasti Ecclesiae Scotticae, Vol. VII (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1928), p. 664. The will of one John McLeod of Edisto Island, Colleton County, South Carolina, was proven on October 13, 1769. Wills of Charleston County, South Carolina, Vol. 12: 1767-71 (Typescript,

South Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Columbia), p. 356

39. David Miller claimed fifty acres which had been granted to him as a disbanded soldier. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 152

40. James Miller claimed 100 acres of land on the north branch of the Little Ogeechee River which had been granted to him on December 7, 1753. James Miller also claimed Lot 6, Fourth Tithing, Lower New Ward with a garden lot; the size of this claim and the original grantees are not recorded. Bryant, Entry of Claims, pp. 93,94

41. This is probably Alness a village in Alness Parish, Easter Ross; the village extends into Rosskeen Parish, Groome, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 45

42. Probably Kiltearn, a Ross-shire parish, bounded on the northeast by Alness Parish. Groome, op. cit., Vol. IV., p. 387

43. John Murry also Murray was granted fifty acres of land at Abercorn which his widow Elizabeth sold to Benjamin Sheftall, a Savannah merchant. The sale document was written December 4, 1752 and recorded June 29, 1753. Frances Howell Beckemeyer, Abstracts of Georgia Colonial Conveyance Book C-1 (Atlanta: Privately printed, 1975), p. 79

44. Possibly Watten in Caithness

### Part III

1. Ann Cuthbert Graham was widowed in 1755 and subsequently married a South Carolina widower. In her will, her heirs were her sister, Elizabeth, widow of James Jackson, deceased, minister of Inverness, and after Elizabeth's death, Ann's heirs were her nephews, John and Thomas Chisholm, sons of the Reverend Thomas Chisholm of Kilmorack, Inverness-shire. Since she signed her will with a cross termed "her mark." The will was recorded on June 27, 1764. Will Book "A," pp. 119, 120. Through her lawyer, George Cuthbert, Ann Graham claimed more than 650 acres of land in five tracts. Two fifty acres parcels at Savannah had been willed to her by Patrick Graham; one was his through a 1736 grant, and he bought the other from Marmaduke Cannon. She claimed a fifty acre lot at Frederica which Oglethorpe had granted a person not named (John Cuthbert?) in 1738. Ann claimed 500 acres on the Savannah River "known by the name of Joseph's Town" some ten miles northwest of Savannah which was a grant to her from Oglethorpe. She also claimed Lot 44 in the township of Hardwick, which had been owned by Graham. Bryant, Entry of Claims, pp. 23, 24. Ann Cuthbert Graham Bulloch died at Mulberry Grove Plantation, May 19, 1764. Warren, Marriages and Deaths, p. 15. Mulberry Grove was the site of the original Cuthbert grant on the Savannah, which Ann claimed. John Cuthbert planted a mulberry grove there. Savannah Unit, Georgia Writers Project, Works Progress Administration, "Mulberry Grove in Colonial Times," GHO, XXIII (September 1939), p. 247



2. The identification "Tr. Servt" and dates of shipping are a part of each entry on the authorized servant list; both are hereinafter omitted.

3. Duncan McGillivray claimed fifty acres in Goshen Village which had been willed to his wife by her late father John McKay. Charles Watson made the claim for McGillivray. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 120

4. Donald Mackensie claimed fifty acres of land which he had first been granted as a disbanded soldier; it was located on the south side of the Sapelo River. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 153

5. Roderick McLeod claimed fifty acres which he was first granted as a disbanded soldier; no location is given. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 153.

6. James Stewart claimed fifty acres of land on the north branch of the Sapelo River; it was first granted John Stuart in 1749. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 151

7. The dates of shipment and the explanatory statement following are found in each entry of this list of unauthorized servants; they are both hereinafter omitted.

8. Gilbert Grant claimed a town lot of unrecorded size in Darien; it was first granted to him in 1744. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 154

9. Peter Grant claimed fifty acres on the south side of the Sapelo River which was bounded on the west by fifty acres granted him in 1754 in behalf of his mother. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 154

10. John Grey was granted land, presumably fifty acres, at Augusta which he subsequently sold to John Cragg; the land was claimed by John Fitch/Finch as the husband of the deceased Cragg's daughter. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 121

#### Part IV

1. John Terry's country of origin does not appear. That he was a conductor of Gaelic-speaking Scots suggests that he was either a Gaelic-speaking Scot himself or had lived amongst them,

2. Verelst, London, to Stephens, sept. 17, 1741 in CO 5/668, pp. 23, 24

3. Donald Mackay of Saint James Parish, Frederica, left the major portion of his estate to his two natural daughters, Elizabeth and Sarah Leman, daughters of Elizabeth Leman, wife of James Leman. Each was willed £200 and one Negro slave; additionally they were left £20 each for support during their minority. He left their mother a slave and James Leman "for his care of my forementioned daughters" £40 sterling. Mackay died January 29, 1768; his will was proven March 4, 1768. Will Book "A," p. 256; Donald Mackay, Senr. claimed 150 acres at Turkey Creek Swamp which had been

granted to him in 1754. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 150

4. John McCloud claimed 100 acres on the south side of the Great Ogeechee River which he was granted originally. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 193

5. Egmont shows this entry: "Thompson, (?)--Maid servt. to Mr. Terry; embarked 21 Sept. 1741; arrived 2 Dec. 1741." This is probably Verelst's unnamed single woman. The Egmont List, p. 53

#### Part V

1. Constance Mackintosh widow of John Calwell asked for a tract of land on behalf of her son Henry. Col. Recs. Ga., VI, p. 411 Constance Mackintosh claimed 146 acres in three places. For her son Henry, she claimed Lot 3 North "with an acre lot and forty-five acres at Frederica. For her son, John,, she claimed fifty acres joint<sup>ly</sup> Calwells Swamp; John Calwell was given this land in 1741 by Oglethorpe. For her daughter Constance,, she claimed Lot 15 South in Frederica and the fifty acres belonging to it. It had been purchased from Christopher Seymour.. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 164

2. John Pettigrew claimed fifty acres of land in Augusta which had come to his wife Catherine from her father, the late Archibald McBain. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 103

3. Egmont records this woman twice apart from this entry. She is recorded as Mary Woodman amongst those who came on the charity; she is recorded as Mary Muir amongst those who came otherwise. In both instances, Egmont recorded dates of shipping, holder of indenture, and her marriage to James Muir. The Egmont List, pp. 58, 90.

4. Thomas Bailey recorded claims on 294  $\frac{6}{8}$  acres of land in five parcels. He claimed fifty acres in Lot 8, Laroche Tithing, Farm Lot 4 and Garden Lot 78 southwest of Savannah. He claimed eighty-nine and six-eighths acres in two farm lots in Moore's Tithing, both his originally. He claimed Lot 79, a five acre garden plot, purchased from William Barbo; and Lot 1, Moore's Tithing; Farm Lot 10 and Garen Lot 63, purchased from Richard Mellichamp; this was a fifty acre claim. He claimed, for "the relict of John Cadman" 100 acres in Lot 8 at Tybee which was originally Cadman's. Bryant, Entry of Claims, pp. 11, 12

5. There is no idication that David Blair ever went to Georgia.

6. There is no indication that Thomas Boyd ever went to Georgia.

7. David Douglass was one of the major landowners in the colony in 1755. He claimed more than 900 acres in seven parcels. The largest was a 500 acre claim, his originally on the Newport River. The other six were in or near Augusta. One was for 200 acres which he bought from the original grantee, Thomas Ross; it was located above Mill Creek. Four were for fifty acres each: Lot 2 was bought from John Burtley, who received it from Oglethorpe; Lot 14 was

bought from Benjamin Goldwire, the original grantee; Lot 37 was bought of Richard Begling, a former soldier and original grantee; Lot 3 was purchased by Douglass' son John from Samuel Williams, who had been granted it by Oglethorpe. The seventh parcel of undetermined size joined Lot 2 and was part of John Tinley's Lot 1 from whom it was purchased. Bryant, Entry of Claims, pp. 31, 32. David Douglass of Augusta left all his property to his wife Mary, in a will recorded December 23, 1763. Will Book "A," p. 42. He died October 9, 1763 at his plantation near Savannah, Warren, Marriages and Deaths, p. 31

8. Priscilla Dunbar's claim was made by her husband, Sir Patrick Houstoun. It was for fifty acres granted her by Oglethorpe in 1738 which was Lot 3, Archers Ward, Frederica. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 139. In her will, which was proven on March 8, 1775, Priscilla left money, slaves, and assorted items to her six children: Ann, wife of George Mackintosh; Sir Patrick, James, John, William, and George. Will Book AA, pp. 131-134

9. Sir Patrick Houstoun, Bart., claimed 500 acres of land for his brother-in-law George Dunbar; the grant was located on Illa Island in the Savannah River which tract he had received in exchange for his grant of similar size at Joseph's Town which was first made to him in 1734. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 38

10. Elizabeth Fallowfield was a cousin of one or more Grahams. Cunninghame-Graham Papers, Section 3 GD 22/3/314-1, Edinburgh: Register House.

11. Patrick Graham will<sup>ed</sup> his brother David Graham and his heirs "all my lands in Redford, Perth in North Britain." Mungo Graham, no degree of kinship listed, was given Patrick's lands on Pipe-maker's Creek; his wife Ann got all the rest of his property after these legacies were discharged: David Graham, brother, £150; Mary Graham, sister, £100; Ann Graham, daughter of Patrick's brother Thomas £100; all gifts were in sterling money. The will was proven August 27, 1755. Will Book "A," p. 9

12. James Grant was the original grantee of Lot 2 at Abercorn. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 105

13. Laughlin McBean claimed 600 acres in two tracts. One was for 499 acres on the Savannah River within a mile and a half of Fort Augusta plus Lot 2 in Augusta, which was one acre in size; this was originally granted McBean by Oglethorpe in 1737. The second parcel was 100 acres "on the Great Kayuka or Quioco (Kiokee) Creek on the Cherokee Path about fifteen miles from the Township of Augusta." McBean was the original grantee. Bryant, Entry of Claims, p. 164. The will of Laughlin McBean, planter of Augusta, was proven November 11, 1756. He left all his property--500 acres of land--to his two natural sons William and John McBean. He signed his will with his mark. Will Book "A," p. 17

14. The will of one Hugh Mackay of Saint Anne's Parish, Jamaica, is said to have been proven in October 1763 and recorded in Georgia in September 1764. His brother John Mackay of Strathy



in Scotland was his principal beneficiary. Beatrice Mackey Doughtie, The Mackeys and Allied Families (Decatur, Ga.: Privately printed, 1957), p. 391. There is no record of this will ever having been in Georgia records. Correspondence with keepers of public records in Jamaica has been unproductive.

15. Assuming that this is the same person as the aforementioned Mackay of ~~St. Rathy~~, then John Mackay was listed twice by Egmont.

16. Despite his somewhat questionable beginning in the colony, Patrick rose to become a man well-respected in Georgia, if one may judge by the positions which he held. In 1756, he was appointed to the King's Council, a ruling body, and in 1757, he was appointed a judge of the general court of the colony. At Machenry's Tavern on November 30, 1764, he was elected the first president of The St. Andrew's Club at Savannah in Georgia. Saint Andrew's Society History, p. 29; Savannah Unit, Georgia Writers Project, Works Progress Administration, "Richmond Oakgrove Plantation," GHQ, XLIV, (March 1940), p. 34. Patrick Mackay was a major landowner in the colony. Through his agent, Charles Watson, he claimed 1,335 acres of land in three parcels. The smallest, a fifty acre claim, was Lot 5 in Digby Tithing, Decker Ward with the garden and farm lots belonging thereto, a purchase from Thomas Ellis. The other two tracts were at Joseph's Town and were each for 640 acres. One, which was originally granted Patrick, was "forty chains in front of the Savannah River and one hundred and sixty chains back." The second 640 acre tract joined the first and was first granted to Patrick's brother John Mackay "by the late Trustees in 1734 (sic) and in January 1736, the claimant imported (on the ship called the Prince of Wales George Dunbar commander) thirty white servants agreeable to the conditions stipulated by the said Trustees." Bryant, Entry of Claims, pp. 161, 162

17. Aneas Mackintosh returned home and succeeded to the chieftainship of Mackintosh. On February 3, 1741, he married Ann Farquharson, daughter of John Farquharson of Invercauld and Margaret Murray at Aberdeen. Ann Farquharson brought a tocher(dowry) of 12,000 merks. He died in 1770 and a statement of the cost of his burial clothing indicates that the apparel cost thirteen shillings, four pence. Mercury, Number 3260, February 17, 1741, p. 2 The Moy Hall Muniments GD/126/792, GD/126/826 (Edinburgh: Register House)

18. William Stephens identifies him as a "Scotch merchant alias Chapman," Stephens, Journal II, p. 365

19. A passenger aboard the Mary Ann, Captain Shubrick with William Stephens, Col. Cal. XLIII, p. 230

20. An advertisement in the Mercury in January 1734 declared that lands possessed by James Smith paying £438.12.2 in money rent plus an assortment of farm produce were to be sold at public outcry at the Spread Eagle in the LawMarket, Edinburgh, on January 28. The lands were at Woodhead and Nether Williamston in the parish of Mid-Calder. Mercury, Number 2149, January 14, 1734, p. 15708; Edinburgh Evening Courant, Number MDL, January 31, 1734, p. 4:

In Scots law, possession may be direct or indirect; that is, it, possession, may be exercised by the possessor himself or by another in the possessor's behalf. John L. Mark, Sheriff of Argyll, K.C., LL. B., General Editor, Encyclopedia of the Laws of Scotland, Vol. XI (Edinburgh: W. Green & Sons, 1931), p. 523.



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2. Ibid., p. 48

3. The Egmont List, p. 91

4. Ver Steeg, Narrative, p.73

5. Derek Jarrett. Britain 1688-1815. (New York: St Martin's Press, 1965), p. 146; DNE, Vol. XVII, pp. 62-627

6. Ver Steeg, Narrative, p. 20

7. Ibid., p. 79

8. Ibid., p. 44

9. Ibid., p. 45

10. Ibid., pp. 163-169

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